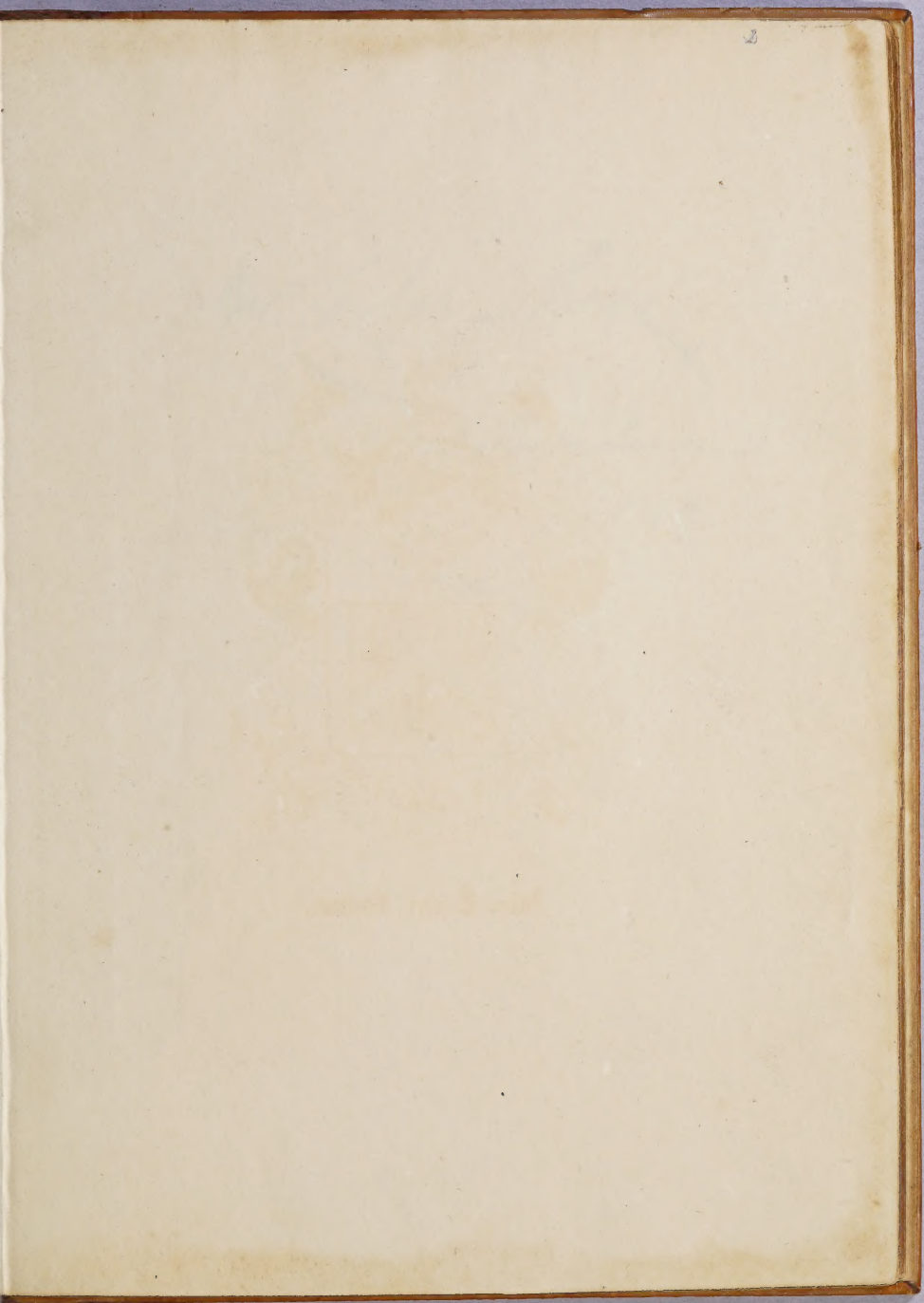








John Carter Brown.



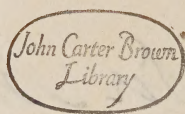


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last word on first line



Wm Carter Brown  
of Providence R.I.  
1829.





Albert

of the Indian Marks & Hieroglyphics  
See page 24







# SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

against

## SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR

Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly Accused,  
and sorely Censured, by that

*Seven-headed Church-Government*

United in

## NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

That Servant so Imperious in his Masters Absence  
Revived, and now thus re-acting in NEVV-ENGLAND.

OR

The combate of the United Colonies, not onely against  
some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the Authority also  
of the Kingdome of *England*, with their execution of Laws, in the name and  
Authority of the servant, (or of themselves) and not in the Name and  
Authority of the Lord, or fountaine of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a great people and Country  
of the *Indians* in those parts, both Princes and People (unanimously)  
in their voluntary Submission and Subjection unto the Protection  
and Government of Old England (from the Fame they hear thereof) toge-  
ther with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own  
hands and seals, being stirred up, and provoked thereto, by  
the Combate and courtes above-said.

Throughout which Treatise is secretly intermingled, that  
great Opposition, which is in the goings forth of those two grand  
Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World  
(through the sons of men) from the beginning and  
foundation thereof.

---

*Imprimatur*, Aug. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1646. Diligently perused, approved, and  
Licensed to the Presse, according to Order by publike Authority.

---

LONDON,

Printed by *John Macock*, and are to be sold by *LUKE FAVVNE*,  
at his shop in *Pauls Church-yard*, at the sign of the *Parrot*. 1646.









TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,  
 the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord High  
 Admirall of ENGLAND, and Governour  
 in chiefe of the English Plantations in *America*,  
 and upon the coasts thereof, and to the rest of  
*that Honourable Committee, joyned in Commission*  
*with his Excellencie, For the Wel ordering,*  
*government, and safety of For-*  
*rain Plantations.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,



According to the Fame we  
 have heard of you, so have  
 we found in you, a spirit of  
 tenderneffe and compassi-  
 on towards the oppressed,  
 which ever springs from  
 the courage and fortitude of a heart resolute  
 to suppress the Oppressor, be his power and  
 policie what it may, whilst men unsensible  
 of the cause of the Needy, ever stand in readi-  
 nesse to side with the strongest partie, and so  
 (as occasion serves) to become one with the  
 cruell, venting the same spirit, which for ad-  
 vantage can easily transform it selfe, so as if

A

power

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

power comply with the just mans cause, the vizard of hypocrisie is soon put on by such, either to become dumb & silent, or else to speak so, as may best advantage it selfe, let the cause be what it will. Your wisdom and noble care in those weighty affairs committed to your trust, commands and binds us over to make a more particular and full relation (then formerly we have done) of what hath passed betwixt some other Colonies in NEW-ENGLAND, and our selves; that if it be possible to find any leisure hours in a crowd of so great employments, your Honours might be pleased to take a more full view of things; in the meantime we stand humbly ingaged, as we have done; and ever shall in any service, that what we are, or have, can tender to the honour and peace of our Native Countrey, or to any true-hearted well-Wisher thereof; and if no other service (we can) may be acceptable, yet of this employment none shall prevent us (whilst our God gives us hearts) daily to pray for you.

*Your Honours most humble Servants, the  
Inhabitants of Shawomet, whose  
names are often expressed in this  
Narration.*

*John Carter Brown  
Library*



THE EPISTLE  
TO THE  
READER,

John Carter Brown  
Library

COURTEOUS READER.

**D**O not thinke that We delight to lay open the infirmitie and weaknesse of men (except our weakneses and infirmities, as the Son of God sustained them) any further, nor to other end, but as they serve to discover and lay open that one spirit of the God of this world, which now works effectually in the children of disobedience, which spirit in all its severall wayes of operation, may be gathered up, and centred in, that son of perdition, yea, in that seven-headed, and ten horned beast, whose power and policie like unto that deluge in the old world, hath so long overspread the face of the earth, swallowing up in death every living thing that hath its motion upon the earth, after or according to the flesh.

Nor can any be offended justly with us, (no not our adversaries themselves) for making this true Narration of things that have passed amongst us, of which this Treatise truly speaks; For actions performed wherein men have cause to glory, the further they spread, the more satisfactory to the agen s; nor are actions of such publick nature seldom performed, but to such end and purpose for if they be good, they ought not only to be reall and effectuall in them amongst whom they are acted and done, but also presidenti-

## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

all and exemplary unto others where ever the Fame of them, may come; and if they be evill, then a whorish Fore-head must needs accompany them, being done in the light of the Sun, and then can no wise man be offended, that a way-marke is cast up to give notice of such desperate, and dangerous wayes, unlesse himselfe be of the same spirit, and is about, or else waits for an opportunity for the like design.

Thou art intreated therefore not to looke upon this Treatise, as simply matter of History, but as matter of mysterie also: For as it was acted to make manifest the operations and workings of a differing spirit, to that end it is published also: so that if it be narrowly looked into, not only a savour of that mysterie of iniquity will appeare (which alwayes works effectually to the same end and purpose, namely, to extinguish and put out the light of divine truth. Wheresoever, or in whomsoever it appears) but thou wilt find some Foot-steps also of that great mysterie of God, whose bright beams of light where ever made manifest, declare the men of the world to sit in the shadow of death. Though the mysterie of iniquity work not always in the same manner and forme, yea seldome any long time together, without taking a new face, and using the art of transformation of it selfe into one an other shape, and herein lies the policie of Sathan, that when some time hath been spent (yea it may be an age) in hopes and expectation of glorious times of peace, ease, and exaltation, from the mouths of lying Prophets, who alwayes drive the peace, power, and principality of the Kingdome of God, some certaine time before them, or at the least before the common people (as they call them) as though they themselves were the onely men, that for the present were admitted into the countells and secrets of the Kingdome of God, and the people to take it upon their report, where, and when, the appearance of it shall be.

But when the world by due proof, finds their predictions to fail, and sees troupes of its ancestors go down to the grave, not having the possession put into their hand, it then works effectually for a transformation, to cast its worship of God into another form, wherein it hopes in shorter time for to attain him, in which state it cannot rest to wait, unlesse it hath the strongest partie, according



## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

according to the power of the arm of flesh on its side, and therefore must of necessity labour diligently as for life, to borrow a coercive power from the civil Magistrate, to be transferred, turned over, and put into their hands, whereby they may subdue others, and compell them to follow their way, and to acknowledge their worship to be onely divine, yea the onely God of the world, for there is but one divinitie, which they have now made and set up unto themselves, or else that the Civil Magistrate will be pleased to detain and keep his own power upon this condition (binding him unto themselves) that he shall not fail, to bind the hands and tongues, yea and hearts also (if they can but search and know what is in them) that none shall be permitted to intermeddle, or any way to disturb them: But that they may peaceably worship, every man in his garden, and under such a green tree, as he shall choote unto himself, being fearfull of trouble and disquiet, not knowing better, but that the crosse of Christ is terrible, as though the Sonne of God had not taken away the terror and angry face of it, putting no lesse disparagement upon him, but as though the living were in death still, being ignorant of this, how that by death he overcomes death, even until now.

The reason why the civil Magistrate is so sought after, and (as I may justly say) troubled, if not tortured, in the depopulation of Kingdoms, and losse of true-hearted Subjects by the church, in her formalities, and pertunctory worships, is this, a naturall heart conceives the condition of the Church of Christ, to be like a common weal or Kingdome, which cannot be well, unlesse every individuall within such naturall and terrene confines, agree in one, for the well being and glory of each particular in the whole, so that the humble submission of every Subject becomes one, in that one heart and Spirit of the King, who submits to the deniall of himself (in any thing) for the preservation of the whole, and that one heart, courage, and magnanimity of the King, is in every individuall of the Kingdome, to go forth for the honour, peace and preservation, of that their one Lord; and so it is in the true Church rightly considered in its relation with the King of Saints, truly considered in Spiritual, and not in terrene respects; but that naturall spirit that works in a naturall

## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

changeable and vanishing Church, iudgeth of its peace according to the consent of all within the compasse of such naturall bounds and terrene confines as it self resides & abides in; and therefore the false prophet is said to be the Tail, because which way the honorable person looks, or the head of the place where he is (according to man) he alwayes steers the body of the people, yea though it be but the body of the beast that way, that he may have strength according to sence on his side, not knowing how to live or walk according to the power of faith; therefore must either have all (if it be possible) or at least the greatest both for authority and number on his side; for he sees not the blessing of the Divine presence that goes with the ark of God though among many adversaries in a wilderness; therefore will he take up nothing but the Tabernacle of Molech (or as the Word is) beare the booth of the King, that is, what manner of house soever, authority and civil power erecteth, for worship, he is ready to take up, and bear upon his shoulders, so that Antichrist hath as many wayes of worship, as there is or hath been formes of Religion in the world, and in that the seed of the serpent crusheth the heel, (or as the Word is) the print of the foot-toal of Christ (or seed of the woman, for Wherever the footsteps of our Lord have gone, the Wisdom of the serpent in reforming its religion casts it into a form, and so denies the power of godlinesse, tying the Lord Iesus to appeare in the very same print and character again, whereas the Saints wait for his power in what way or form he pleaseth to make it known and manifest in, and unto them; therefore the visions and apparitions of God in the holy Scriptures, are never twice in the same form (all circumstances considered) yea if our Saviour appear one time walking upon the Sea, as though all things must of necessity bear up their Lord, he appeares again under the hands of Herod, Pontius Pilate, and the Jews, thrust down into the heart of the earth, as Jonah into the midst of the sea, as though all things conspired together to annihilate & bring him to nought, and in the one and the other appeares an aptitude even in the Disciples themselves to mistake, and in this the world is altogether mistaken, in that he walketh upon and raiseth himself up out of wayes they know not how such things can be to make manifest



## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

manifest his power and authority to be that of the sonne of God, who rules in the midit of his enemies, and out of Egypt, Babylon \* Rahab, Palestina, Tyre and Ethiopia, is brought forth, so that it may be said this man was born there, even as the truth of the Gospel hath been brought forth in these parts, which our Jewish Reformers of religion by putting Christ to death, could never have thought of or apprehended, nor will they (were it never so plainly told unto them) believe it, so that in this Treatise you may plainly see, how the mystery of iniquity already works, even in New England which thought it felt the root of Reformation of all the world, even as Babylon alwayes in the entrance of her compulsive contraction, artificiall and self-seeking, conjecturall reformation, sets her self up as a Queen, and thinks never to see widdow-hood or sorrow any more, if she can but with all her art and learning keep the Magistrates conscience in bonds, to use all his power and civil policie for her wealth, to get riches and honour, to Lord it over mens consciences, and peace that she may sit in safety and at rest to enlarge her barns and take her pleasure in the things of this life, never dreaming that even in that night of grosse darknesse her soul shall be snatched away from her, and then whose shall all those things be, whereof she hath framed such a service of God to her self, that must all leave her at death; even such as for the most part, if not all (by her own acknowledgement) fail, and never passe along with her into the Kingdom, and then must she either have a new God, or else find out a new way of submission unto him, whom she hath seemed so zealously to serve; such is that spirit of the mystery of iniquity, the goings forth whereof hath forced this Treatise to come to the light and view of the world, as a warning to all Christians, to take heed of being beguiled by a voluntary humility in worshipping of Angels, messengers or ministers, who labour to make men subject to the rudiments of the world in outward observations, as touch not, taste not, handle not, rearing up a fabrick of ordinances in Divine worship; of such things which all perish in the use, Neglecting the body which is Christ, by satisfying of the wisdom of the flesh in these things, through which the Spirit of the Serpent multiplies it self into that three-fold

Rahab is  
Egypt.

Isa. 51 9. 10.

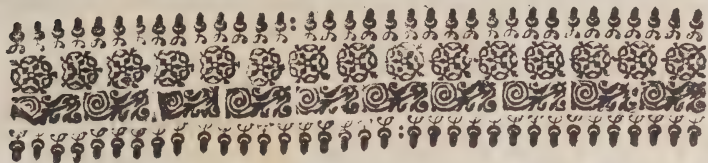
## THE EPISTLE TO THE READER

fold spirit which comes out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false Prophet, imitating that Kingly, Priestly, and Propheticall spirit that is by Iesus Christ, beguiling the world with its uncleannesse in adulterating the word of God by bringing it into carnall copulation with earthly, transitory, momentany, fading and vanishing things; wo is unto them becaule thereof, who like unto frogs, will never appear, hold up their heads, nor utter a voyce, but where the heat and lustre of the Civil Magistrate, brings forth a pleasant, fruitfull and prosperous estate and condition, in the things that onely concern this present life.

Again, if thou looke narrowly into this Treatise, there is a possibility to perceive in it, some glimpse of the light of that spirit that openeth and unfoldeth the mystery of God, especially when it taketh up any Scriptures; look diligently upon what hinge it turneth, and you shall see a doore open, another way, yea a nearer & shorter cut to the Kingdom of God, then the common ministry of this world driveth at, and think it not strange if Iesus appeare in such places, and at such time, where, and when, the doores are not onely shut, but fast bolted unto the world, as a thing impossible, that his real and substantiall (though spirituall) body should come in, such a way, and so unlooked for, being that in Sodom and Egypt our Lord is crucified, and put to death; yet let me advise thee, as once our Lord did, handle them, carefully and skilfully, ponder, poise, and feel the weight of them; taste, try and consider, whether the reality and substantiality of Christ be not there; sure I am that if the ministrie or service of a Christian spirit lay hands on them, and put it self into them, even as a graft is put into the stock, it shall find a plain proof, argument, and demonstration undenyable, of the apparition & revelation of the Son of God, returned from death to life, never to die any more, unto whom I leave thee (in the communication of whose Resurrection the second death can never exercise power) With my hartly wishes for al those that have learned the truth as it is in Iesus, & know that elsewhere no truth (that is Christian) can be found, for that only abideth for ever, and is eternized in all the lineaments and whole proportion of it, and happy is he that hath so learned Christ, Amen.

S. G.





*Upon an occasionall view, of this unexpected, and much unmiss'd for Story.*

**T**His Story's *strange*, but altogether *true* :  
Old England's Saints are banisht out of *New* :  
Oh Monstrous Art, and cunning of the Devill,  
What *hidden* paths he goes, to spread his *evill* !

The *Man* of *Sin*'s the same, his eldest Son ;  
Both have more shapes, then be moats, in the Sun.  
Hence disappointed, are the most of men ;  
When trouble's past (some thinke) they rise agen.  
Thus it befell these Pilgrims, in that Land,  
To which they fled, from persecutions hand,  
This Indians note, with Papists, Jews and Turks,  
For in them all, the selfe same spirit works :  
Thus is the Name of Christ, blasphem'd, by these,  
Who burthen them, to whom they promise ease.

Oh Christ arise, and spread thy glorious fame,  
That all may know, the sweetnesse of thy Name :  
*As* Affric, Europe, and America  
Expect ! and waite the dawning of that day,  
That Papists, Greeks, and we the Protestants  
Of Calvins Sect, those too, the Lutherans,  
And they that are a streine above them all,  
At Iesus feet, at length may humbly fall,  
That so such Christs, which most in fancy make  
(Whence 'tis (Men think) that Christendome doth shake)

May at th' appearing of the Lord depart,  
And all may worship him ev'n with one heart :  
That so the Nations may this glory see ;  
And into it, at length transformed be :  
This to effect, can't be by sword of man,  
But that which to with-stand, no Kingdomes can,  
For tis the Lords owne might, the sword that doth,  
Ev'n with two edges flow out of Gods mouth,  
By which are staine the wicked of each Land,  
And will sure breake each Persecutors band :  
Then England, and Yee Nations round about,  
That are now so lofty, and so stout :  
At length downe fall to him that's Lord of you :  
And learne with him, like meekeesse for to show :  
If you with iron Rods, Saints breake and bruise.  
Know then your selves, that Christ you so will use.

R. B.



A





A Lover of peace, and one of eminent respect, viewing this Treatise at the Presse, kindly added this verse prefixed, which hath both sodainly, and unexpectedly drawn from my thoughts as here followeth, as a testimony of my kind respects unto the party, though but a stranger unto him; it may also serve as an intelligencer, what was the only ground of controversie, in acting according unto, and publishing of, this Treatise.

**H**e serpent with a voyce so *sle* and *fine*  
Consults with *nature*, as though he were *divine*,  
Whil'st she doth seek for glory, wealth, and love  
In things that are *below*, and not in *that above*;  
Lending an \* ear to listen unto him,  
The fruit looks *fair*, the tree seems nothing grim:  
And thence doth he, at first begin t' *arise*  
Through earthly projects, for to make *man wise*:  
Whereas the *light of heaven*, GOD himself ordain'd  
To be that *thing*, whereby man is maintain'd

† 3

\* Hence doth arise the way of *Solomon's* harlot, set out in the way of this woman, *Gen. 3. Prov. 7.* who may not speake in the Church, but usurpeth, *1 Tim. 2.*

In

In wisdom, honor, happinets, and peace,  
That doth from *serpent* (sin, death, hell) release;  
And not *conjectural*, doubtful, subtil notion  
Set forth, *by art*, with sign of great devotion.

\* The Serpents  
Voyce trans-  
mits into *new*  
*England*, spea-  
king there in  
way of Mini-  
stry, as at the  
beginning.

Come from the *Prelates* \*, your persecuting foes;  
Our Church (*as Primitive*) Christ Jesus doth disclose  
Her *Ordinances pure*, a Church erected here  
Where you may worship, voyd of care or fear,  
Our Land is large; Our Magistracy good;  
Come o're to save that innocent-like blood  
From such as are to cruelty so bent,  
*Our Ways are meek and humble*, to give all content;  
Thus he appears, *apparrelled in white*  
To snare in that, wherein he takes delight.  
An earthly Kingdom, he would faine erect  
Then *spiritual honor*, he must needs reject.

\* In this wo-  
man is set out  
the way of  
King *Lemuels*  
mother, that  
teacheth pro-  
phesie, *Rev. 12*  
*Prov. 31.* who  
may pray and  
prophecy in  
the Church  
without usur-  
pation. *1 Cor. 11*

That when *that*, \* *woman*, appeareth in her glory  
*With him in Womb*, of whom intreats all story.  
Then's he a *dragon red*, for to devour  
That *child*, to whom is given, *all the power*  
*In heaven, and in earth*, to rule as King and Lord.  
*None to the serpent*, no, heaven cannot afford  
*A place of residence*, he must thence depart  
*Down to the earth*, full sore against his heart,  
That he a place cannot *devise to frame*  
Which from the *heavens* may seem to take its *fame*.  
Cruel, Raging, Carnal, now he cometh forth  
His *lie*, and *subtil wisdom*, now proves nothing worth.

This woman, *now in travel*, finds not *time*  
To listen unto him, *nought but the child is mine*:  
Which *child in her*, can nothing else confesse,  
But *Throne of glory* \*, and *bare Wildernesse*:  
Which *twain together*, give all praise to one;  
Then fury's in the Serpent, smooth policy is gone:  
No *middle place* for Sathan now is found,  
Not *one with th' manschild*; down he goes to ground:

\* For the one  
betakes it self  
to heaven, the  
other to the  
wilderness.



His cunning cannot now intice so far,  
But *Michael*, and *his Angels* will make War  
With *Dragon*, and with all his *Angels* great,  
Yea overcome him, never found retreat.

Most of his skill he useth \*, he knows how  
To talk of benefits to receive, although not now,  
And so from place, and person still delights to wend,  
Where's outward peace, there's Christ, doth he pretend;  
And if so be that troubles do arise,  
Himself he saves, *the serpent is so wise*:  
No tye, to fold, nor flock, he then wil know;  
Christ in an earthly peace, he'l have, where e're he go.

Whereas *our Lord*, his voyce doth sometimes teach  
Go to \*\* *Decapolis*, and there thou shalt me preach  
Unto \* ten Cities, great the number bee;  
My Word shal reach them, and *I am with thee*.

For *I am truth*, and truth thou goest to show  
*Which makes thee free*, my presence thou dost know  
No place can, scant thee off, then walke at large,  
Doubt not, *I'm with thee*, doe but keepe my Charge,  
The nations shall come forth at once, yea at one & birth;  
Truth in the change of one, reneweth all the earth;  
Else, were not perfect good, in every one erect,  
Nor sinne were full, through th'fall that great defect,  
If change of one were not a world renew'd,  
What Nation then, not brought in, and subdu'd,  
When truth is publisht, though but unto one  
Imbrac't, receiv'd? oh happy State of man,  
All Gentile Jewels, brought in, \* who can want  
The world's in darkenesse, elle could ne're be scant.

But Hypocrites cannot this thing digest,  
In places, times, and persons, they seek wealth and rest,  
And see not how *the mighty Lord* above  
Hath cast his skirt o're *Ruth*, yea fild her lap in love,  
Of whom comes Christ, that world of Gods goodwill,  
What can she want, that heaven or earth doth fill?

\* He ever puts  
off the day of  
the Lord as  
not yet time  
to build the  
Temple, but  
would live in  
his own feiled  
(or artificial)  
house of his  
own framing  
and device.

\*\* Though he  
desired to be  
with Jesus, yet  
Jesus under-  
standing his  
desire to be  
but nature  
(that is) to in-  
joy him, ac-  
cording to the  
flesh, denies  
him that, that  
so he might be  
with him ac-  
cording to the  
spirit. Mat.  
28. 20.

\* For so the  
word *Decapolis*  
signifies ten  
ities.

§ See *I sa.* 60. 21

21. and 66. 8.

\* See *I sa.* 61. 6.  
and 60. 11. 16.

All keepe their Stations, attend as they have done,  
 Neglect no *homage*, or service to the *Son*,  
 All bring their *vertues*, treasures, and their glory  
 Centring them all in him, a world of Princely Dowry,  
*Then walke through Sea, or Land, by friends or foes*  
*Let prisons fast, hard irons thee inclose,*  
 All take thy part, yea plead thy cause for thee  
 The world vents its malice, in *Christs love thou art free.*

The Spirit of this world by these things comes to light  
 Its pomp, and glory, which earlt did shine so bright  
 Appears grosse darknesse, unto Christian eyes  
 Down comes its Kingdome, up goes its plaints and cryes,  
 Helpe *Sword and Gun*, else doth our Kingdome fall  
*Court, fire, \* Gangrena*, we tast worm-wood and gall,  
 No marvell, for, Christ in his native kind  
 Set forth, declar'd unto a carnall mind,  
 Appears as odious unto such a wight  
 As sinne to him, in whom is found the light:  
 What sentence shall be given then by sons of men,  
 When truth appears, if power were found in them?

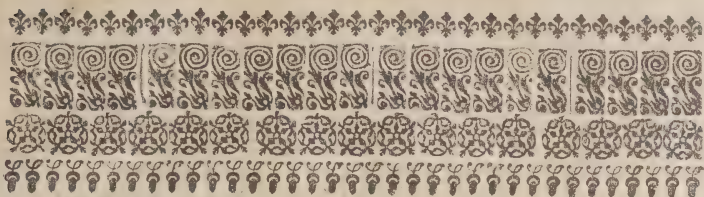
\* Books so intituled written upon uncertain reports, tales, & conjectures to cure the Church.

No power but that of darknesse then, let us to them ascribe  
 What's in the Church's *our Lords*, all unto them deny'd;  
 Take heed yee Judge of *Blasphemies* aright,  
 For Light discerns, the darknesse hath no sight.  
*If Light, and Candlesticke*, you know not how, t' make one  
 Suspend your judgement, *all your skill is gone*,  
 And let the Judge of all, his Circuit passe apace,  
 Who comes *not to destroy*, such is his grace,  
 And let that man his own destruction be,  
 Who breaks that *faith with God*, cannot be pee'd by thee:  
 Cease then your prosecutions, seek yee to doe good:  
 Save life in any, in *Church wayes* spill not blood:  
 In Christ, if you consider, the *Covenant of God*,  
 Youle find that all compulsion, is nought but that \* *Nim-rod.*

\* A meer hunting of men to worry your own kind; (or rather that hind of the morning, see *Psa. 22.* in the title) thirsting after the precious life. Compare *Gen. 10. 8, 9.* with *Fer. 16. 16.*

S. G.





Innocencies Defence, against  
a seven-headed  
*CHVRCH-GOVERNMENT*  
United in  
NEW-ENGLAND.



He moderation of *New Englands* Justice, desired to be known to all men\*, and what is the principall things pretended in the Execution thereof; namely, To suppress Hereticks, and to confirm that to be truth which the Unity of the most Colonies hold; plainly declaring and setting forth to the view of all, What is the proper bent and drift of that spirit that diggs so deep to hide its sin in secret, which so affecteth to assume titles unto it self, & also to give at their pleasure unto others; to make themselves appear, in the eyes of men, more holy and honourable in the things of God, then others of their Brethren; commonly crying out, against that power exercised amongst others, for no other end but to assume it unto themselves, to cloth the dictates of that spirit therewith, whereby themselves are led, and so to exercise it with all zeal and wrath in the life, spirit, and substance of it, only with another face or countenance set upon it to deceive and beguile

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\* As you may see in the following Treatise.

the simple ; Not being able to indure the aire, where Cap, Tip-pit, or upper Shirt appeareth: but can bath themselves in blood and feed themselves fat, by devouring the good name, estates, and lives of their brethren, who neither do, nor think harme unto them, nor reside within the compasse of any of their Jurisdictions, evidently proved by a late assault given (by the men of the *Massachusetts* and other Colonies united for such a purpose) upon others of their Countrymen, Inhabitants of a tract of land called *Shaw-omet*, situate in the *Nanbyganset Bay* in *New-England*: The truth whereof this Treatise witnesseth, and the substance of all is to be seen under their own hand writing ; as also in the writings of others, who were eye and ear-witnesses in the Cause, and have testified under their hands the truth of it.

*Here followeth a Narration of the men of Shaw-omet, concerning the ground of transplanting of themselves and families, and of their first entrance into that part of America now called New-England.*

WHereas we removed our selves and families out of our native Country, about ten or twelve years ago by the leave of this State, only to injoy the liberty of our consciences, in respect of our faith towards God, and for no other end, not scrupling any Civill Ordinance, for the education, ordering, or government of any Civil State.

Landing by the providence of God at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts Bay*, we found our Countrymen at great variance in point of Religion, prosecuting it very hotly in their publique Courts unto fines and banishments, occasioning men thereby much to vent and bring forth themselves ; and we understanding that they had formerly banished one *Matter Roger Williams*, a man of good report both for life and doctrine (even amongst themselves) for dissenting from them in some points about their Church Government, and that in the extremity of winter, forcing him to betake himselfe into the vast wilderness to sit down amongst the Indians, in a place by their own confessions



fessions, out of all their Jurisdictions: And at that time of our arrivall at *Boston*, they were proceeding against one Master *John Wheelwright*, a man of like life and conversation, whom they also banished for differing with them in point of Doctrine, the summe whereof consisted in this, *That sanctification is not the first evidence unto a Christian of his salvation*; and many others manifesting their thoughts about such points then controverted amongst them, were also imprisoned, fined, banished, disarmed, and cast out from amongst them.

And we plainly perceiving that the scope of their doctrine was bent onely to maintain that outward forme of worship which they had erected to themselves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another, leaving those principles of Divinity, wherein we had been instructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Christ: and we finding no ground nor warrant for such an order in the Church (to bind mens consciences unto) as they had established amongst them; our consciences could not close with them in such their practices, which they perceiving, denyed us the common benefit of the Country, even so much as a place to reside in, and plant upon, for the maintenance and preservation of our selves, our wives and little ones; as also proceeded against us, as they had done to others; yea with more severity, unto confinements, imprisonments, chains, fines, whippings, and banishment out of all their Jurisdictions, to wander in the wilderness in extremity of winter, yea when the snow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up unto the middle, and not so much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather to afford us either fire, or any harbor, such as themselves had; being removed into swamps and thickets, where they were not to be found; in which condition, in the continuation of the weather, we lay diverse nights together, having no victuals, but what we took on our backs, and our drink as the snow afforded unto us, whereupon we were constrained with the hazard of our lives to betake our selves into a part of the Country called the *Nanhyganset Bay*, buying severall parcels of Land of the Indians there inhabiting; and far

down in, and neer the place where Master *Roger Williams* was where we built houses, and bestowed our labors to raise up means to maintain our wives and little ones / which our Countymen out of their zeal had deprived us of, and taken away from us) quietly possessing them for the space of seven or eight years (some of us) no man interrupting us, but both the *Massachusetts*, and also *Plymouth* confessed us to be out of the confines of their Patents; but when they perceived those parts to be a refuge for such as were oppressed and grieved amongst themselves, who repaired unto us for shelter, then they went about to bring those parts to be under their Jurisdictions, by all possible pretences, and stretching their line for that purpose, thinking to get some colour for their proceedings; yet fell they short of our Plantations fourteen or fifteen miles, as did evidently appear, and was by themselves acknowledged, and when they saw they could not accomplish their ends by that project, they then insinuated themselves into the minds of three ill-affected persons amongst us, that they should acknowledge themselves to be subjects unto them, and to depend upon them for protection and government, whom they had formerly cast out from amongst them, both out of their Churches, and censured them also in their Civil Courts for grosse and scandalous offences, as one *Robert Cole* whom they had censured to were a D upon his back for a whole year, to proclaim unto all men his guiltiness of the sin of drunkenesse, and had also cast him out of their Church, and delivered him unto Sathan severall times, who before and in the times of this his submission usually conversed with, and was conversant amongst the Indians on the Sabbath dayes, professing the Indians Religion to be the same with that which the *Massachusetts* professed and practiced\*; There was also one *William Arnald* and his son *Benedick* who subjected themselves unto the *Massachusetts*, which *Arnald* was a great professor of Religion in the West of Old England; but in the time of this his subjection was known constantly to imploy himselfe in servile work upon the Sabbath day, and professed it to be his excellency above that which his neighbour had attained unto;

his

\* This speech of *Robert Cole* was uttered before many who can witness it.



his son *Benedick* constantly trading with the Indians on the Sabbath day, being a factor for them of the *Massachusetts*, being supplied with commodity from them, having toleration to sell powder to the Indians, but denyed to be sold unto us, unlesse we would subject our selves as they had done; these pretended subjects of the *Massachusetts*, thus far fetcht, had learned this devise, that whereas some of us had small parcels of land laid out to build houses upon and plant corn, and all the rest lay common undivided, as the custome of the Country for the most part is, they would not permit us any more land to build upon or to feed our cattell, unlesse we would keep upon that which they would confesse to be our proper right, and they would admit of no division, but by the foot or by the inch, and then we could neither have roome to set a house, but part of it would stand on their land, nor put a cow to grasse, but immediately her bounds were broken, and then presently must the one be pull'd down, and the other put into the pound, to make satisfaction, or till satisfaction were made for both. So that by this unreasonable and palpable slight of these pretended subjects, together with the power of this so irregular a Government, we plainly perceived a snare was laid to intangle us again; not only to hinder us to provide for our families, but to bereave us again of what God, through our labour and industry, had raised up unto us as means to maintain our families with.

Now when the *Massachusetts* had gained these men to instruments in this manner to effect their end, then did they institute them as officers to execute their warrants amongst us in those parts, upon any complaint these above named subjects should make unto them upon the grounds above mentioned, who presently sent a Warrant unto us, to command our appearance at their Courts, under the hand of the Governor and divers of the assistants in the *Massachusetts*, threatening to use violence against us in case we obeyed not.

*A true Copy of the first Warrant that was sent unto us from the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, into the Nanhyganset Bay, before we planted upon that tract of land called Shaw-omet, situate upon the same Bay: The Warrant is here set down verbatim, and is stil extant.*

Massachusetts, To our Neighbours of Providence.

\* *Pantuxet* is a place neer *Providence*, where one or two of these their subjects had built houses & at their pleasure were both in *Providence* and also in *Pantuxet*, having houses & land in both.

**W**Hereas *William Arnald* of *Pantuxet*\*, and *Robert Cole*, and others, have lately put themselves and their families, lands and estates, under the protection and government of this Jurisdiction, and have since complained to us, that you have since (upon pretence of a late purchase from the Indians) gone about to deprive them of their lawfull interest confirmed by four years possession, and otherwise to molest them: We thought good therefore to write to you on their behalfe, to give you notice, that they and their lands, &c. being under our Jurisdiction, we are to maintain them in their lawfull rights. If therefore you have any just title to any thing they possesse, you may proceed against them in our Court, where you shall have equall justice: But if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us, if we shall take a like course to right them.

*Jo. Winthrop, Governor.*  
*Tho. Dudley.*

*The 28. of the 8<sup>o</sup>. 1642.*

*Ri. Bellingham.*  
*Incr. Nowell.*

This Warrant being delivered unto us by their new made officer *William Arnald*, in the name of the *Massachusetts*, we took into serious consideration, having former experience abundantly of their unkind and inhumane dealing with us, yea towards our wives and children, when our selves were sometimes in banishments, and sometimes in prison, and irons (by them) before. We thought it meet (for the preservation of our peace, together with that Compassion we had of our wives and little ones) to leave our houses, and the rest of our labors, lying neer unto



unto those their pretended subjects (whom we saw maliciously bent) and to remove our selves and families further off, from the *Massachusetts*, and such their coadjutors, being then amongst us: For we saw that they did not only endeavor to take away our livelihood, but intended to take away our lives also, in case they could find a way to satisfie the Country in doing of such an act and execution: For we had never accusation brought in against us, but what rose from the Magistrates and the Ministers; for we walked so, as to do no man wrong, only justified the cause of our Religion, as we had learned and received the principles thereof before we went amongst them; as also the laws and government of this Kingdome of *England* unto which we ever willingly acknowledged our selves to be loyall subjects, and therefore could not suffer our selves to be intrenched upon by our fellow subjects, further then the laws of our King and State doth allow.

Now that they sought the lives of some of us, at this time is evident; For *John Warner* Citizen and Freeman of *London* a man well known, who afterwards was one of those against whom they now prosecuted, having formerly had some business with Master *Winthrop* the Governor of the *Massachusetts*, he asked the said *Warner* (living then in the *Nanbyganset Bay*) whether he knew one *Samuel Gorton*, (a man also against whom they now prosecuted) who lived also in the said Bay, but at that time *John Warner* had not seen him, living a matter of twenty miles one from the other: The Governor told him he was a man not fit to live upon the face of the earth; also one of the Elders of the Church of *Boston* told a Minister (who reported it in the place where *Gorton* lived) That if they had *Gorton* at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts*, he would hardly see his own house any more; yea one Master *Collins*, a man of excellent parts of learning, and of an unblameable life amongst men, being Minister of one of the Western Islands, from that report he heard of Religion, came to *New-England*, who married one of Mistrisse *Hutchinsons* daughters, and being *Francis Hutchinson* his brother in law, was a member of the Church at *Boston*, who seriously considering and laying to heart the

Old M. Oliver

ways

wayes of their Church and the carriage of his brethren consulting with the Minister, the two yong men could not have rest in their spirits till they went down to advise or debate the matter with the Church, though they were come out from them and lived on Road Island in the *Nanhyganset* Bay, and when they came to *Boston*, and the Brethren were gathered together either to give or receive satisfaction, when they saw the arguments produced by the Minister and his brother to weigh somewhat heavy, then the strongest of their Church members of *Boston* (namely the Governor and Assistants) cast them in prison to regulate their opinion that differed from them, and there kept them in durance for many Moneths; but at the last, setting them at liberty, yet giving out some threatening words afterwards, as though they would fetch them again; the yong men could have no rest in their spirits day nor night, till they were gone out further from the *Massachusetts* then that Island was, yea under some foreign government where the *Massachusetts* could not pretend to have any thing to do; for they had heard that the *Massachusetts* intended to take in all the *Nanhyganset* Bay under their Government and Jurisdiction: Whereupon Master *Collins* came where the aforesaid *Gorton* and his Family were, namely at *Providence*; and seriously advised him to go along to the *Dutch* Plantation or else to the *Sweads*; for, upon his knowledge, the *Massachusetts* intended, in short time, to take away his life, if he aboad in any of the *English* Plantations; for he had received certain information thereof, whilst he was amongst them, shewing great affection to move him thereunto: *Gorton* thanked him kindly for his love, being but a stranger to him, but told him he could not go under a foreign Prince for protection, till he saw further then yet he did; knowing he had neither been false to his King nor Country, nor to his conscience, in point of Religion, so far as God had informed him. But Master *Collins* and his Brother, together with their Mother and whole Family, for fear, removed to the *Dutch* Plantation, with divers other friends and families; who were miserably massacred by those barbarous Indians (both men, women and



and children) being then at war with the *Dutch*, who took some of the *English* children (out of families of good note) as Captives, and keep and train them up amongst themselves unto this day, having most barbarously and cruelly slain their Parents, who had been not a little carefull to train them up in their life time, both in faith and manners. But we removing our selves, as abovesaid, into another part of the *Nanhyganset* Bay, further from the *Massachusetts*, and where none of the *English*, nor other Nations had any thing to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcell of land called *Shaw-omet* (as is abovesaid) not only of *Myantonomy*, chiefe Sachim, or prince of those parts of the Country; but also with the free consent of the Inhabitants of the place.

Now we plainly perceiving that the drift of the *Massachusetts*, and those joyned with them, was not only to take the whole Country of the *English* Plantations into their Jurisdictions; but also to establish what way of Religion themselves thought fit, to the taking away (not only of goods) but lives also of such as were otherwise minded: We made answer unto the Writing, they had sent unto us, on this wise; which Answer was made upon our removall from *Moosshawset* (otherwise called PROVIDENCE) to *Shaw-omet*.

*A true Copy of our Answer to the Warrant or Writing which the men of the Massachusetts sent unto us, as is above noted; Wherein we only take up their own expressions, to shew unto them the spirit and power of their Religion, which they go about by these means to preserve, enlarge, and shew the glory of it to the world: The Answer is verbatim examined by the originall Copy; only marginall Notes added to help the Reader to understand our true meaning.*

Moosshawset, November the 20. 1642. To our Neighbours  
of the MASSACHUSETS.

W<sup>H</sup>ereas we lately received an irregular note professing it came from the *Massachusetts*, with four mens

C

Names

<sup>a</sup> Irregular becauf it went beyond their bounds and jurisdictions limited unto them.

(b) That is the wisdom of the flesh conversant about the things of God brings forth unto cruelty all them in whom it is found so exercised.

(c) Jer. 14. 9.

(d) By d. flembling the cause of their proceeding against us to be another thing then indeed it was, even as *Adam* laid the fault upon the woman, whereas indeed she came out of his own side & was confessed to be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.

(e) Rev. 12. 10.

(f) Joh. 8. 44.

(g) But only among themselves, within the bounds of their own Jurisdictions, as they assume them to be though without any ground or rule of true government.

Names subscribed thereunto (as principall authors of it) of the chiefe amongst you, we could not easily give credit unto the truth thereof; Not only because the conveyers of it unto us are known to be men whose constant and professed acts are worse then the counterfeitings of mens hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession would never have prostrated their wisdom to such an act: But considering that causeless enmity you have against us, the proof whereof every occasion brings forth, we cannot but conclude, That no act so ill, which that ancient Mother will not bring forth her seed unto; (b) For we know very well that it is the name of Christ called upon us (c) which you strive against, whence it is that you stand on tiptoe to stretch your selves beyond your bounds, to seek occasion against us (so) as you might hide your sin with *Adam* (d) bearing the world in hand it is not your desire to contend with us, but some civill breach in our course which you seek to redresse; whereas neither you nor any in way of truth can find wherewith to bring us under the censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst them. And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren (e) we weigh it not, knowing him to be a liar (or in the abstract a lye) from the beginning (f), yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know though it were told unto you: whereas you say *Robert Cole*, *William Arnald*, with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your Jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found (g), being nothing but the shame of Religion, disquiet and disturbance of the places where they are; for we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by King *CHARLES*, limited unto you. Behold therefore, in this your act, a Map of your spiritual estate (to use your own phrase); for we know that the spirituality of your Churches, is the civility of your Commonwealth, and the civility of your Commonwealth is the spirituality of your Churches; the wisdom of man being the whole accompleisense of them both,



both, of which tree you delight dayly to eat (h) finding it fair and beautifull, to gain conformity with your maker; in these your dissembling subjects grossly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity: (i) when they are with you, you may remember the brand your selves have set on some of them, the cause whereof was never yet removed, (k) though it abide not upon their backs (l), nor yet the cause of your commitment of them unto Sathan (according to your Law) for if that were removed you should do them wrong in not resumming your vomit into its former concoction again: (m) Nor are we ignorant of those disgracefull termes they use and give out against you behind your backs; Their submission therefore cannot be to any other end, but to satisfie their own lusts, not only conceived, but in violent motion against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them; only the proposition of amity, is object sufficient for these mens enmity. Even so the passions of sin, which are by the law, having force in your members, (n) you going about with great labour and industry to satisfie them by your submission unto the Word of God, in your fasting, and feasting, in contributing, and treasuring, in retirednesse for study, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labour to maintain it, and in the spirit of that hireling (o) raising up your whole structure and edifice; in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death: Some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their souls in peace, and safe estate and condition: (p) some to have your bodies furnished with riches honor and ease (q); and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not; nay you renounce and reject him, and with these (according to your acceptation and practice) he holds no correspondency at all; being the consultation and operation of that his only adversary (r); Man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in the way of elevation, and lauding his Ministers, when in the mean time you know not what, nor who, they are; professing them under a mediate call of Christ, teach, and execute to attain such ends. (r) That is the wisdom of the things of God.

(h) The tree of the knowledge of good & evil paralleld with the wisdom of man exercising it selfe in the things of God. (i) That is, the spirit of painted hypocrisie.

(k) The sin being still continued in.

(l) That is, the mark which was worn to proclame it to all.

(m) That is, in not receiving them into the operations of that boyling Church-fellowship again, wherein they still walked.

(n) Rom. 7. 5.

(o) Joh. 10. 12, 13.

(p) That is, carefully labor to pay wages to the Minister for that end either in way of contribution or else.

(q) That is the Ministers and Magistrates study, flesh exercised

- though formerly they have been called immediately by him. Hereby shewing your selves to be those which destroy the sacred ordinance of God; for if you make Christ to be that to day, in stating of his Ministers, which he was not (<sup>f</sup>) yesterday, and that in the time of the Gospel also (to speak according to your law) to be found in them both; you therein affirme, he hath been that to his Ministers, which now he is not; and to make the son of God to have been that which now he is not, is to make a nullity of him; Not to be at all: For he is the Lord that changeth not (<sup>t</sup>) no not a shadow thereof is found in him: So that you plainly crucifie to your selves the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame (<sup>u</sup>) so that as you know not how Christ conversing with his Father in heaven is found on the earth amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know how in his conversing with *Nicodemus* on the earth he concludes himselfe to be in heaven (<sup>w</sup>) with his Father; on this foundation hangeth the whole building of your doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you annihilate the Crosse, then the which the Saints have no other consolation (<sup>x</sup>) and prepare no better a place then purgatory for the honourable Fathers of our Lord (<sup>y</sup>); for ye conclude that Christ dyed in the decree and purpose of God in the time of the law, but actually only when he hanged on the Crosse in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that he was crucified in the types and shadows of the law: But in the truth and substance when he appeared born of the Virgine *Mary*; so must ye also conclude that the fathers under the law were only saved in purpose, and decree, in types and shadows, but actually and substantially only at the coming of Christ in the flesh: Therefore deal plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction, as your ancestors in the Papacy have done, and proclame a place of purgatory provided for them in the mean; without which your doctrine hath no foundation: for if you raise up a shadow without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light (<sup>z</sup>) without a shadow, you play the part of wizards, or Necromancers, not the part of true naturalists in the things of the Kingdome of God: So that as far as your men are (<sup>a</sup>) from being
- <sup>f</sup> Heb. 13. 8.
- <sup>t</sup> Malach. 3. 6.  
*James* 1. 17.
- <sup>u</sup> Heb. 6. 6.
- <sup>w</sup> Job. 4. 23.  
*Ioh.* 3. 13.
- <sup>x</sup> Gal. 6. 14.
- <sup>y</sup> Psa. 22. 4.
- <sup>z</sup> 1. Tim. 6. 16.  
<sup>a</sup> That is their subjects so far fetcht who lived among us.



being honourable and loyall subjects, so far are you from being voluntaries, in the day of Gods power (b) and from yeelding subjection to the beauties of holiness; such also is your preferment rule and government in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond and out of the reach of that spirit that is gone out amongst you, the capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend the bredth of the land of *Emanuel* (c) nor entreth it within the vaile: (d) Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory (e), neither can it hear the voice of that lively oracle, speaking only from off the covering mercy seat, (f) and not elsewhere to be heard; we speak not but what we know, these things are not of its Jurisdiction; therefore dumme in telling Justice; neither speaks it any of that righteousness and glory comprised in another circuit then you were yet made lords of: Therefore long may you boast of your Jurisdiction before you attain to *Juris prudentia* in these things, in that you tell us we offer wrong by a pretended purchase, you are as much mistaken in the purchase as in the wrong; for it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but presidentiall, not only in this civill respect, but may also admonish all men to take heed how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision are ignorant of the contract and covenant of God (g): Thence it is that you teach, that the Spouse of Christ, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortality and bring forth fruit unto the Lord, when as yet the day of marriage, that great festivity and solemnization of the consolations of God, is not yet come; witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the descention of Christ from heaven to the earth, to raige certain years, yet to the calling of the Jews, (whom ye your selves are, according to the flesh) and to the destruction of that man of sin, whom you so stoutly maintain: What is this but to proclame to all the world that audacious spirit of whoredome (h) professing conception, and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day, in quarrel, we seeing and knowing the falsity thereof, do apply the thing to their spiritual course they walk in.

(b) Psa. 110. 3.

(c) Isai. 8. 8.

(d) 2 Cor. 3. 15.

(e) Heb. 9. 5:

(f) Num. 7. 8,

9.

(g) Arnolds son *Benedick* being interpreter between the Indians about us, & the *Massachusetts*, seeking to get some advantage against us by the *Indians* to blind the Country, as though they had a just

(h) *Hosea* 4. 12. & 5. 4.

that you conclude your clients right to arise out of four years possession, we have no such order, if you mean the right of conquest only held in that tenure, the true owners were never yet subdued; for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you. For some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was that they might have help to enjoy the rest (i): But when they saw we would not be abettors unto them without, much lesse contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help, (k) their possession being a meer intrusion, as all the Natives know, and ever exclaimed against them for the same; and so may our Countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazled with envy, and ears open unto lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sides speak before you had judged; but we profess right held in no such interest, but according to the ground of covenant, only known in its nature in the parties twixt whom it is plight, in the possessor and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrency, together with their distinct, harmonically, reciprocal, and joynt properties and operations of them both; such is the tenure that we hold, and maintain it before men and angels, and oppose it against men and devils; nor in taking up unto our selves certain offices and officers, which we can teach children to be and to performe, and from thence presently to conclude the possession of the Kingdome, crying out our peace-offerings are upon us, this day we have payd our vows: (l) But that dark cloud that descended on the Tabernacle (m) becomes the light and glory of all Israel, there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence; then, and then only, are the orders; as also the men of Israel derived from their true fountain, (n) which no tongue can confesse but is salvation (o), and then not else is the heritage of our Lord in possession (p) yea even the waylesse wilderness knows how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were borne [q] which men begin to fly unto for refuge to hide themselves from the

(i) As Robert Cole did, their subject now since that time so made.

(k) The Indians denying at that time a perfect & full purchase of that place where these their subjects had built houses, called *Pauluxet*.

(l) Alluding to the harlot spoken of in the *Proverbs* whose practise is such in spiritual things, as well as there is a literal fence of it. *Prov.* 7. 13. to 23.

(m) *Exod.* 33. 9, 10. *Nehem.* 9. 12. (n) *Psa.* 68. 26. (o) *Rom.* 10. 10. (p) *Pf.* 47. 4. [q] *Psa.* 90. 1, 2.

presence



presence of the Lamb [r]: This is a possession which no man can intrude himselfe into, it is onely covenanted with him through an inlightened eye and boared ear (r) which man performeth not, neither can it be received from him [t]: for we know that cloud of thick darknesse, that hides and covers the whole frame and f.brick of the work of God [u]. to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof, yea to us it is even that cloud of witnesse [w] which testifies to us the like work to appear, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us: Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day [x] but in the one, and the other, the only glory and safety of all the tribes; but how, you know not, neither can you, with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wildernesse, and accordingly have made the whole way and will of our Lord, the oldnesse of the letter (v) both to your selves and all that have an ear to listen unto you; thence it is, that the day of the Lord is a day of darknesse and gloominesse unto you [z] but of joy and gladnesse unto us; yea it lifts up our head only, [a] and then is our salvation near, for we know the Worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all fear in the night [b] handling the sword with successe, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feed upon [c], so that the time of your fear is the time of our courage and conquest; for when ye fear Error, Schism, Rents, and Confusions in Church and State, then do we know the messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom we seek, is speeding his passage into his holy Temple; [d] For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his coming, he being like a refiners fire and fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts, to fetch your equall ballanced Justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that both in what they have and what they are, and we know them to be such as professe the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing (e). Now if we have our Opponent to prefer his action against us, and not so only, but to be meet with in this life, *Isaiah* 41. 2. (d) *Malachi* 3. 1, 2. (e) *Heb.* 10. 29.

[r] *Rev* 6. 16. For there was nothing done to these men that seemed to shelter themselves under the *Massachusetts*, but only opening the Word of God amongst them, which is the revelation of the face or presence of the Lamb of God Jesus Christ.

(f) *Pro* 20. 12.

[t] *Psa.* 40. 6.

*Gal.* 1. 11, 12.

[u] Alluding to the Tabernacle which it covered, and so applied spiritually in the way of Christ.

[w] *Heb.* 12. 1.

(x) *Pf.* 78. 14.

(y) *Rom.* 7. 6.

(z) *Zeph.* 1.

14, 15.

(a) Meaning Christ, & not

our selves, to set up flesh.

*Luk.* 21. 28.

(b) *Cant.* 3. 7,

8.

(c) That is, all kind of incombrances they

our

our Counsell, our Jury, and our Judge; for so it must be, if you are one with them, as you affirme, we know beforehand how our cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equall Justice turned already, before we have laid our cause therein; and cannot but admire to see you carryed so contrary to your own received principles; for ye know not how to find Christ as a ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not compleat among you (by your own law) except in several persons; and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to find a King and a Priest in him; and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us, you know how to become one with our adversaries, so, as if we deal with them, we deal with you; and if we have to do with you, we have to do with them also: yea further we know that the chief amongst you have professed we are not worthy to live; and if some of us were amongst you we should hardly see the place of our abroad any more.

Now they that have brooded upon their law to take away life, they must much more bring it forth in taking away all means of life, witnesse your prohibition that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think your selves safe in all your own selfe-provision and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor *Indians*, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made naked (<sup>f</sup>) as he doth all those which triumph in a Calfe, though the most costly and beautifull that the Jewels and Earrings of learning (either in language or art) can possibly bring forth (<sup>g</sup>); your own amazements upon meer rumours may testifie the truth thereof: so then we are judged by your law before our cause be heard or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing to us to have our condition conformed to *Moses* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaos* account before he was brought forth (<sup>h</sup>); and so it was with Christ our Lord (in the dayes of *Herod* also) who is our life (<sup>i</sup>) at which you strike and makes all things, who ever they be that are exercised in such wayes. (<sup>g</sup>) *Exod.* 32. (<sup>h</sup>) For in *Pharaohs* edict and *Herods* also they were slain before they were born. (<sup>i</sup>) *Collos.* 3. 4.

yea



yea death it selfe lively, and advantageous unto us [<sup>k</sup>]: we cannot but wonder that you should read the Scriptures and not find them fulfilled in and amongst your selves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them; what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thralldome which he had so cruelly imposed upon him (to gain the favor of the Jews) and that by a power supereminent transcending the bounds of his authority [<sup>l</sup>] and by a wisdom surpassing the depth of his counsell and policy to find out, together with the souldiers and champions, he presently goes down to *Cesarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus* and *Sydon* (*Thumomathon*) *A heavy friend*, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind manifested in an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue them unto himselfe that he might rule over them, finding himselfe fall short of power and policy to subject the Word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfie his own lust in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagernesse to make himselfe a God by reigning over the bodies and estates of men, yea though they be but such as *Tyrus* and *Sydon* can afford unto him to make subjects of, and when they come to him with one accord to make offer of themselves in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting on the Judgement seat in his royall apparel, making his Oration of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and counsell to minister justice and righteousness unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord); the people with a shout crying out, the voice of God, and not of man, the truth and substance of which cry, is, This is the Ordinance of God and not of man, immediately the the Angel of the Lord smites him; and he that ever acknowledged himself to be a worm, and no man upon the earth <sup>m</sup> consumes and eats up all his pomp and glory even as those whom you account the shame and contempt of the people shal through that Angel of the covenant waste, and bring to naught all those Rhetoricall (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you by your so learned, studious, and experienced Clerks;

<sup>k</sup> Phil. 1. 20, 21  
Rom. 8. 28.

(<sup>l</sup>) That is, the authority of that wicked *Herod*.

*Act.* 12. Chap. throughout.

<sup>m</sup> *Psa.* 22: 6, 7.

n. *Iob. 18. 28.*  
to 40.

Take for illustration of your estate (as above) the speech of your Alderman, *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinson* to prison, one of your Church members wondring that Brother *Winthrop* would do it, before the Church had dealt with him (Brother saith he] why, he is thy God, man. Lend your eye yet further to paralell your practice personated in *Pilate* [n] and the people, when *Pilate* offers Jesus to the people to be judged, they professe they have such a law that puts no man to death, they are all for mercy and forgiveness when they are out of the Judgement hall; but let *Pilate* enter in thither, then nothing but *crucife him, crucife him*, be their accusation and witnesses never so false; even so in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, to reforme, and for the preservation both of soul and body; do but enter into the common hal, then as *Pilate* asked, am I a Jew? so do yee: do I sit or speak here as a brother? I trow not; I am now in a higher sphere then that [though they be acknowledged Coheirs with Christ] can attain unto; therefore if witness be brought in and oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it; so far, as mens names to be branded with infamy (estates) depriving women and children of things necessary, and the precious lives of men can extend themselves to contribute any thing thereunto, so that they professed mercy and clemency of your law to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recovery comes unto this issue to send both soul and body down unto *Sheoll* for ever, without redresse and all hope of recovery. But your hour, and the power of darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration, because of advantage [o] or else to seek all occasions against them to brand them with all manner of reproach and ignominy; but for the truth taught dayly in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand or exercise your ministry against it, least it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appears dryed and withered: and wherefore reason ye amongst your selves, saying we exercise the power of our ministrations  
against

• *Jude 16. v.*



against none but such as are Delinquents; whereby we clear the innocent, and establish peace in our borders; (we demand) what think you of those two witnesses prophesying in sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore dayes, [P] those two Olive trees and Candlesticks standing before the God of the earth? are these guilty and vile persons out of whose hands by the power of your ministry, you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your wayes justifiable: But if these be the just, chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea, such as without which his truth and righteousness are not justified, his wisdom and holynesse maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ; then are your ways wicked and to be abhorred; for in your professed course, you are they by whom they are slain and put to death, and all your glory is to keep their Corps unburied in your streets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are whom you are altogether ignorant of; for your libraries never saw them (and you see not but by their eyes) <sup>q</sup> for these are two, and never more, nor yet lesse, yea ever the same, they are Olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former fail, yea, are not at all: we must tell you what these are, else we cannot declare how we kill them: for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, the spices and the precious ointment, nor the house of our armor (r) because ye take all as execrable, and put all to a prophane use, that cometh from us: But these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ [t] or (in the true language of heaven also) the strength and the weakness of Christ: for he was crucified through weakness, but liveth by the power of God [t], This is the Word of the Lord in *Zorobabel*, not by an army, nor by power (and so deprives him of all strength) but by a spirit that the greatest mountain or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and ease he passeth upon: thence it is that he doth not only lay the top, or the head stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and the Temple; as in *Zechary* the third and fourth chapters. <sup>r</sup> *2 Cor.* 13: 4:

p *Revel.* 11:  
Zach: 4.

q That is, by what li he they find in other mens works.

r *Hai.* 39: 1, 2:

f Which comprehend his Kingdom and Priesthood set forth unto us in *Joshua* the high Priest & *Zorobabel* in their return out of *Babylon* to re-edifie

then onely is the voice of shouting heard, *Grace, grace*, in the house for ever : and then doth the day of smal things become the day of joy and triumph, yea of parting the rich spoils and prey of all the world : for then he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes, he cannot look besides that great flying book of the

u *Zech. 5. 1, 2, 3* Curse that is gone forth over the whole earth [u] without these two witnesses joyntly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given or brought in at all, but a meer refuge of lyes, for the souls of men to betake themselves unto (w) without these two pipes of the Olive trees, emptying into the bowl of the Candlesticks, no unction nor oyl at all is found in them, and that being wanting the light of the sanctuary is gone out, so that the light appearing amongst you is onely the light of *Baalam* whose eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum*, or *Sethum* x, for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing ye see not, [y] but communicate only in the light of that beast who puts the witnesses to death z as *Baalam* did in the sight of that dumm beast of his, whose eyes were so opened as to see the Angell before him a : So that while you think it is our wisdom to stoop unto you for light we never come amongst you, but see our selves in a regiment of gross and palpable darkness, and discern you very plainly how you scrable upon the wall to find the door of *Lots* house and cannot b, as also how you toil your selves to climb up into the sheepfold another way yea so many other wayes, and have no sight nor discerning of the door at all, by the which whosoever entreteth becomes a true feeder of the flock, yea none entreteth in thereat but the true shepherd himselfe. c Most impious it is to put to death two such noble witnesses that have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the dayes of their prophesying, to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil d, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise. The life and power of the Son of God as above e, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or contentment before noted, or his power and kingly authority.

x Which signifies either opened or shut, as in *Numb. 24. 3, 4.*  
 y *Jsa. 6. 9, 10.*  
 z *Revel. 11. 7.*  
 a *Num. 22. 25. 27.*  
 That is before *Balam*, so that the beast and *Balam* have the same light & look.  
 b *Gen. 19. 11.*

c *Job. 10. 1, 2, 3*

d *Revel. 11. 6.*

e Being one of the two witnesses



nent, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; <sup>f</sup> yet <sup>f</sup> *1 Kings 8. 27*  
 have ye not dared to grasp and inviron that power in the hea- <sup>2 Chron. 2. 6.</sup>  
 vens, and therefore have resolved and concluded, that hee  
 only rules upon the earth in these dayes, by his Deputies, Lieu-  
 tenants, and Visegerents, whereby you limit, (g) and so de- <sup>g Psal. 78, 41.</sup>  
 stroy the holy one of *Israel*, for, give him, that in one time or  
 place, which afterwards, or else where yee deny unto him,  
 and you make a nullitie of him unto your selves, and in so do-  
 ing, you kill the other witnesse, namely the death or weak-  
 nesse of the Lord *Iesus*, (h) for you must have man to be ho-  
 nourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report,  
 else they may not rule amongst you; yea, and these things are  
 of man, and by man, as, Peeres in that they only officiate so,  
 as man may ditannull and take it away againe, witnesse your  
 change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus  
 have you slaine also, the Death, or the weaknesse of *Christ*,  
 who professeth himselfe to be a worrne and no man, <sup>h which is his Priesthood, wherein he deprives him- selfe of all power of man, or strength of the arme of flesh: i Psalme 22, 6</sup>  
 [i] the shame and contempt of the people, and these faithfull <sup>k Revel. 11. 8,</sup>  
 and true witnesses thus slaine, you must of necessitie deny bu- <sup>9, 10</sup>  
 rriall, and keepe them both in your streets, [k] in open view,  
 otherwise all your pompe and glory fals to the dust [l] whence <sup>l That is, if the power of God, and the weaknesse & frailty of man should not be so slaine, as to be stil kept as dead in sight of all, then could not the power and glory of the creature, (as Visegerent, unto the power and glory of God in his ab- sence) be seen set up, and made known.</sup>  
 it came, and on which it feeds, [m] nor can you tend your  
 presents one to an other, of your acts of Justice, power to  
 protect; wealth, honour, and friends, wherewith you grati-  
 fie one another: And where these are thus slaine, and their  
 corpslye in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues,  
 and kindreds, suffering their corps to be put in grave, [n] there  
 is that great Citie which spiritually is called *Sodom*, and *E-*  
*gypt*, where our Lord is crucified: But after three dayes and  
 an halfe the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and  
 they shall stand up, upon their feet, to the terrour of you all:  
 Nor doe you thinke, that wee only inveigh against the great  
 ones of the world, for thus doing; for wee know, that the  
 greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spi-  
 rit, wherewith the basest Peasant, hath laid himselfe open in  
 the view of all the world, and the basest Peasant, hath the

*m Gen 3, 14 n Revel. 11. 8, 9, 10, 12.*

o Ephes. 2, 1,  
2, 3.  
Rom. 3, 9. to  
19.  
p Mat. 11, 14.

q Mat. 5, 34.  
to 38.

r Mat. 5, 27,  
28.

same spirit, with the greatest of the Princes of this world, (o) These wee say, are the two witnesses, if you can receive it (p) and what dishonour is it to trade so much by meanes of witnesses, and yet know not what a true witness is, which if you did, you durst not attempt the things yee doe, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you professe your selves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet you goe on with such practises as you doe, maintaining them as your only glory. Our Lord gives you in charge, not to sweare at all, [q] but it is your dignity to bring men to your seats of Justice, with nothing but oaths in their mouths; why doe you not ballance the Scriptures in this point? It hath beene said of old, thou shalt not commit Adultery, but I say unto you, hee that looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her in his heart already. [r] So also, it hath beene said of old, thou shalt not forswear thy selfe, *but I say unto you, sweare not at all*: So that if it bee Adultery to looke to lust, it is also forswearing of a mans selfe, to sweare at all; if one be Adulteric, the other is Perjury; if one be admitted in some cases, the other also; so that in preaching the Toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea, the dutie of adulterie it selfe: So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens consciences, not only the guilt, but the folly and madnesse of the oath of man, to shew how farre it is from investing into place, or demonstrating causes. So that hee that concludeth upon honour and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge, and boldnesse to judge, in a cause from that Testimonie, without the which hee could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee should hereupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of Heaven, which is no lesse stable then the Throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his Foot-stoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Ierusalem*, that choice and peculiar Citie of the great King, whose institutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to professe his authority and skill to be such, whereby hee can make a haire of his head black or white, *viz.* cause his age to wax old as a garment, or renew



new it with the Eagle at his pleasure, [r] hereby doth man <sup>f Psal. 103. 5</sup> in this point of swearing, professe his folly to be such, that he is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but to that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himselfe into the Prerogative Royall of his Maker, so that howsoever ye boast of the Ordinances of God, yet hee tels you, there is no more then yea yea, and nay nay in them; for that which is once nay is ever nay, in the ordination of Christ; and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account (howsoever man reckoneth, whose accounts shall be called over againe) what is once the curse, is ever the curse, and that which is once the Principality and power of Christ, is ever the principallitie and power of Christ; as that which is once the principallitie and power of darkenesse is ever the same, what hands soever it commeth into: for manifestation, measure your Kingdome whether it be eternall, and your jurisdiction whether it be illimited, for hee hath given him the Heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, [t] and a Kingdome of lesse extent hee professeth not, nor can <sup>t Psal. 2. 8.</sup> he approve or acknowledge any that do; no more then light can approve of darkenesse, or the Lord *Iehovah* of the lord *Baal*. Be wise therefore and bethinke your selves, while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, [u] as though you would <sup>u Hebr. 3. 15</sup> make your selves *Meribba*, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord; rather kisse the Sonne, if it be possible, lest his wrath kindle, and you perish from the way for ever: Oh blessed onely they that hope in him, (w) so that hee which <sup>w Psal. 2. 12.</sup> professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a Pastor, but it was nay; at such a time I was none at all; hee renounceth that spirit of the true Pastor, yea, the only Feeder of *Israel*, but professeth that spirit only that pussheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God should drink. [x] He with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but <sup>x Ezekiel 34. 19, 20, 21.</sup> it was nay, when I was none, renounceth that spirit of him that rules in Righteousnesse, (y) professing the spirit of him that <sup>y Isaiah 32. 1.</sup> rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the ayre, who is now working so effectually in the  
 chil-

<sup>a</sup> *Ephes. 2. 2.*

<sup>a</sup> As the word signifies.

<sup>b</sup> *Heb. 2. 10.*

<sup>c</sup> *Revel. 13. 8.*

<sup>d</sup> *1 Sam. 17.*

10.

<sup>e</sup> *1 John 3. 12.*

<sup>f</sup> *Matt. 1. 21*

<sup>g</sup> As the word signifies, given in the Chaldean tongue for Devil.

<sup>h</sup> *Psal. 105. 9.*

10

<sup>i</sup> *Isay 15. 18*

<sup>k</sup> *Acts 7. 44,*

45

<sup>l</sup> *Acts 7. 43*

\* Understand these things according to the true intent, that is, any officer that layes claime

to the things of the Kingdom of God, by vertue of that, his office in that sence the truth of these things stand firme and good, and doth not deny or disallow any humane ordinance of man in this world, so it be kept in its bounds and proper place, for he that is a Captaine of the Temple, that is, exerciseth force of armes, for the helpe of the house of God, wil ever with the Priests and souldiers, tay hands on *Peter* and *John*, to put them in hold, at the least if they preach Christ. But *Cornelius* is no Captain of that kind or kindred, for he is a Gentile of *Cæsarea*, and of the band called the Italian Band.

ording



cording to our Word above, wee leave it as a Parable to you,  
 as all the holy Word of our God is, as your conversation in all  
 points, as in this, daily declareth; in a word when wee have  
 to doe in your jurisdiction, wee know what it is to submit to  
 the wise dispensations of our God; when you have to doe a-  
 mongst us, in the liberties he hath given to us, wee doubt not  
 but you shall find him Judge amongst us, beyond and above a-  
 ny cause, or thing you can propoſe unto us; and let that suffice  
 you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but  
 you must reject all inroads upon other mens priviledges, and so  
 doe wee; in the meane time wee shall as wee thinke good be  
 calling over, againe some matters you have had up, and had the  
 handling of amongst you, to see what justice or equity we find  
 hath beene exercised in them, and redresse them accordingly,  
 for wee profeſſe right unto all men, and doe no violence at all,  
 as you in your prescript threaten to doe to us, for we have lear-  
 ned how to discipline our children or servants without offering  
 violence unto them; even so doe wee know how to deale  
 with our deboiſt, rude, yea, inhumane neighbours (or if you  
 will *Nabals*) without doing violence; but rather rendring  
 unto them that which is their due: Nor shall we deprive a  
 witneſſe of his modeſt testimony, for the out-cries and cla-  
 mours of ſuch a one, as ill-bred apoſtatized *Arnald*, that  
 felonious Hogge-Killer, being the partie to be teſtified againſt,  
 or for the oath of any intereſted in the cauſe, [m] nor shall we  
 be forward to come ſo farre to find you work [n] upon your  
 request, till we know you to beare an other mind, then others  
 of your Neighbours doe, with whom we have had to doe in  
 this Countrey, whoſe pretended and deviſed Lawes, we have  
 ſtooped under to the robbing and ſpoyling of our goods,  
 the lively-hood of our wives and children, thinking they had  
 laboured, though groaping in great darkneſſe, to bring forth  
 the truth in the rights and equitie of things: But finding them  
 to be a company of groſſe and diſſembling hypocrites, that  
 ſhame they would not permit to appeare, but rather deprive ſufficient witneſſe of  
 their testimony, at the guilty perſons request. n That is to their Courts in the  
*Maſſachuſets*, to imploy them about any matters of ours living peaceably together  
 ſo farre remote from them, out of all their Jurifdictions.

m As they in  
 the *Maſſachu-*  
*ſets* had lately  
 done, to con-  
 demne the in-  
 nocent, and  
 juſtifie ſuch  
 who otherwiſe  
 had been pro-  
 ved guilty of  
 felonious  
 acts, even  
 theſe their  
 new made  
 ſubjects, whoſe

under the pretence of Law, and Religion, have done nothing else but gone about to establish themselves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious lusts, we renounce their diabolically practice, being such as have denied in their publicke Courts, that the Lawes of our native Country should bee named amongst them; yea, those ancient Statute Lawes, casting us into most base, nasty, and insufferable places of imprisonment, for speaking according to the language of them, in the meane while breaking open our houses in a violent way of Hostility, abusing our wives; and our little ones, to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keep us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to runne, that so the wisdom of their owne wils might be a Law unto them; yea, they have indeavoured, and that in publicke expressions; that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himselfe in open Court: dealings of like nature wee find, in the place whereof you stile us your Neighbours, on whose unbridled malice, we find a higher then you putting a curbe, and yet in your account and reckoning we are the parties that are still doing the wrong, and must beare the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth, and abideth; but the God of vengeance, unto whom our cause is referred, never having our Protector, and Judge to seeke, will shew himselfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all; yea, all the house of that *Isboseth*, [o] and *Merib-boseth*, p nor will he sayle us to utter and make knowne his strength vvherein vve stand, to serve in our age, and to minister in our course, to day and to morrow, and on the third day can none deprive us of perfection, [q] for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following also, when a perishing estate cannot rise out of *Ierusalem*, though she be the only one, yea none but she, that kills the Prophets, and stones them that are sent unto her: Behold ye that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the comming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine years; which some, you say, shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, ye blind

Guids

o That is, man  
of shame.

p Mouth of  
shame.

q Luke 13.31.

32, 33, 34.



Guids, as your Fathers have ever done, so doe ye: Behold, we say, when he appeareth, your house which you so glory in, shall be left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but detolation, and confusion, for *Babel* is its name, [r] nor shall you see him to your comfort, in the glory of his Kingdome, untill you can say (blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord) [t] when the authority and power of man, appeareth to be the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God only to be that wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach in the eyes of all the world; that a King should ride into his chiefe Citie, so strangely furnished upon an Asse, borrowed, her furniture old over-worne Gariments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicate persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you make full account they are not only accursed, by, but also destitute and void of all Law, when you can find *Hosanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt, and shame, then, and then only shall you sing unto him with comfort; in the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a Lease, and like the graspe, shall wither when it is sifting it selfe for the Oven; (r) such is man whose breath is in his Nostrils; [u] and the sonne of sorry man, in whom you have delight to trust, his power and policie brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare, in the Countrey from whence we are brought; we are not ignorant of those shamefull lies, and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, [w] thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominy, and reproach, neither of the straits, and difficulties, they have cast us upon in the things that concernes this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seene beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto, (as their owne confession hath witnessed) doing it in such a way, of painted hypocrisie, and false glosse, unto the eye

r That is, as the word signifies Confusion.

f Mat. 21.5. to 10.  
Matt. 23.37.  
38,39.

t Isay 40.7.8.  
& 1.30.  
Psal. 90.5,6.  
u Isay 2.22.

w Psal. 56.5

x Knowing  
our selves to  
be free sub-  
jects to the  
Laws and  
government  
of our native  
countrey, and  
not unto any  
government  
extended out  
of its bounds  
and jurisdic-  
tion.

y Gen. 10, 8, 9.  
Jer. 16, 16.

2 Psal. 82, 6, 7.

of the world, that we might seem unto it, selfe executioners; we resolve therefore to follow our employments, & to carry and be- have our selves as formerly we have done, and no other wise; for we have wronged no man, unlesse with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of grosse, idle, and Idoll drones, to take our labours out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us: so that if any shall goe about to disturb, or annoy us, hence-forth in our employ- ments, and liberties, which God hath, or shal put into our hands, that can claim no interest in us but by these courses, (\*) what their busines is, we know by proof sufficient, to be nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious Hunter after the precious life, [y] which errand of his shall be no more deli- vered unto us, in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisie; but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, we will not be dealt with as before (we speake in the name of our God) we will not, for if any shall disturbe us, as above, se- cret Hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their Laws appeare to be nothing else but meer lusts in the eyes of all the world: And wherefore doe you murmur among your selves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expression? it is be- cause you are ignorant of the Crosse of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is; therefore it is, while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone to bow downe unto it, and are so vaine as to crosse the ayre (to use your owne ex- pression) upon the faces of Infants, when they sprinkle them with water, to as great purpose, and in the meane time you preach, and set up *Seighuirim*, for your Crosse, whom you fall downe unto so willingly, and lest you let the word passe without expression of it unto all, it signifies Horrour and Feare, which is the Crosse you hold and teach, and by and through which you thinke to be saved, which name is gi- ven by our Lord to the Devill himselve, (as our English tran- slate it, and the Lord never gives a name as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named, so that if hee speake, I have said ye are gods, (z) of any besides himselve it is to declare, that they have not only the name, but the

very



very nature of the god of this world, and therefore he saith, they shall dye even as *Adam*, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even as one of those Princes of *Midian*, whose carkeffes became dung for the earth, (a) and he that gives that title unto any but the true God, that made heaven and earth, in any other sense, but as it declareth a flat opposition against God, is *Reatting* that ancient spirit of the Serpent; if you eat you shall be as gods, [b] to judge of good and evill, for which all men are set up in that kind; even so while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxietie of spirit, and trouble of mind, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ; out of which condition their comfort is to flow, it is nothing else but to conclude, the Sonne of God to be *Belial*; yea to as-firme him to be *Seighnirim* himselfe; this doth he receive at your hands in your Ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kisse, (c) so that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this Parable, verily as farre as the weaknesse of God is stronger then man (d); countrey men, for wee cannot but call you so, though we find your carriage to be so farre worse then these *Indians*, we advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put asunder, (e) so that if you be ashamed of the Crosse in Baptisme, be ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the Crosse is, such is the Baptisme: Therefore your Ancestors goe beyond you, in that they joyne crossing of the ayre, and sprinkling with the Element of water together: But wherever Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the Crosse of Christ also, [f] they can no more be separated then his Scepter and Kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also for as they are coincident, so are the coaparant: So that if ever you see the Baptisme of Christ, truly in use, and exercised upon any, you doe as truly see that party partaking, and communicating with the Crosse and Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and conclude afterward they are worthy of senfure, yea possibly to an *Athema, Maranatha*,

a Psal. 83. 9,  
10, 11.

b Genesis 3. 5.

For he that  
assumeth a  
title unto  
himselke,  
without re-  
spect unto  
Christ, in  
whom the  
whole glory  
therof consists  
such mind and  
disposition  
prosecuted &  
followed to its  
height, accord-  
ing to the  
rise thereof,  
sets it selfe in  
direct termes  
of opposition  
against Christ,  
and hath that  
spirit of the  
god of this  
world.

c Mat. 26. 4. 9.

d 1 Cor. 1. 25.

c Marke 10. 9.

f Matt. 20. 22,  
23.

Luke 12. 50.

is nothing else but to conclude a totall and finall telling away from the grace of God, as your Fathers have done before you, for no grace greater then the Crosse of our Lord Jesus; Behold therefore you Despisers the vanity and abomination of all your Baptismes, how prejudiciall they are to the Crosse of Christ, be ashamed, and return in time, or he shal be a swift witness against you for ever, when your Repentance shal come too late; but you think the Crosse of Christ is not but in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing, and crouching to the lust of every man otherwise his *Shebet*; [g] is not fit, nor suiteth it with your Regiment at all, unlesse to servile, that every one may serve their lusts of him, to Wealth and Honour, Friends and Allies, by setting bounds and limits to the holy Word of God; some in the way of one devill, some in the way of another, and he that will not walke as a dumbe beast, worse then *Balams Ass*, and say nothing, or else give a sence of the holy Writings to maintaine that devised Plat-forme, if mercy must be used, not to hang and burne, yet banishment is ready wayting for them: Therefore shall you know, by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, [h] that he will be Ruler even in the midst of his Enemies.

g That is, his  
See ter, Rod,  
Staffe, or tribe

h Psal. 110.2.

By us whom you stile your Neighbours of Providence, you have said it, Providence is our hold, the Neighbour-hood of the *Samaritan* we professe, and for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either Unction, or Compassion, all your flaine and wounded in soule finding no remedy, doe plainly testifie the nature of your travels, and Neighbourhood what it is; your speech to us in generall, not using our names, when as we know, it is particulars you ayme at, gives us plainly to see the word *Alem*, [i] Revived and Living in

i the word  
*Alem* signifies  
dumbnesse, so  
that the Phrase is, doe ye indeed, do dumb Justice, o Congregation? and so describes  
such persons what they are that speake not a word of Righteousnesse in their acts and  
executions, which Psalmes shewed unto us the spirit, practise and successe of our  
Adversaries.

you



you, as it stands with its Coherence, in *Psalm*  
58. Verse the first, &c.

{ *John Wickes.*  
 { *Randall Houlden.*  
 { *John Warner.*  
 { *Robert Potter.*  
 { *Richard Waterman.*  
 \* { *William Waddle.*  
 { *Samuel Gorton.*  
 { *Richard Carder.*  
 { *John Greene.*  
 { *Nicholas Powar.*  
 { *Francis Weston.*  
 { *Sampson Shatton.*

" These be-  
 ing the Pur-  
 chasers of  
*Shawomet* the  
*Sachim*, *Myan-*  
*tomoy*, as he  
 sold it to 12.  
 men, To his  
 price was that  
 every man  
 should pay  
 12. Fathom  
 of Wamppum  
 peage, that is,  
 144. Fathom,  
 as our deed,  
 paid unto him.

which he made unto us being extant, witneseth to be

This Writing sent to the *Massachusetts* we have related *ver-*  
*batim*; only what is in the margent is added for explanation,  
 and more ease to the Reader to understand our meaning which  
 we sent at the time when their general Court sat; desiring that  
 all the Country might take notice of it, doubting they were not  
 well informed how the Magistrates and Ministers had carryed  
 themselves towards us, nor upon what ground they had, or  
 did proceed against us: But the chief of them taking the mat-  
 ter into consideration, thought good to call an Assembly of  
 Magistrates and Ministers to consult, in way of a Synod, what  
 course to take uniting themselves together that what was done  
 by any of them might be the act of them all: and they perusing  
 of our writings, framed out of them 26 particulars, or therea-  
 bouts, which they said were blasphemous, changing of phrases,  
 altering of words and sense, not in any one of them taking  
 the true intent of our writings; but if they spake our own  
 words, it was to such purpose as this; as though a man would  
 write the words of the *Psalm*, and affirm (*there is no God*)  
 such words he may find written therein; but if he leave out  
 this, *That the fool hath said in his heart so*, he spoils the sense,  
 and

As Mr Cobbet  
who cryed out  
against Gorton  
that arch he-  
retick, who  
(saith he)  
would have al-  
men to be  
preachers,

But if he had  
turned his  
speech against  
Moses, who  
wished that al  
the Lords  
people were  
prophets, he  
had far more  
plainly ex-  
pressed the  
bent of his  
spirit, & what  
manner of  
zeal he had.

and in such manner did they deal with our writings, and those things they were free to divulge and make known amongst the people: These things concluded to be heresies and blasphemies before ever they heard a word of what interpretation we could give of our meaning therein: The Ministers did zealously preach unto the people the great danger of such things, and the guilt such lay under that held them stirring the people up to labour to find such persons out and to execute death upon them, making persons so execrable in the eyes of the people, whom they intimated should hold such things, yea some of them naming some of us in their Pulpits <sup>k</sup>, that the people that had not seen us thought us to be worse by far in any respect then those barbarous Indians are in the Country, which some of the Ministers have rendred unto the people as *Hittites, Canaanites, and Peresites*, urging it as a duty unto the *English* to put them to death; whereupon we heard a rumor that the *Massachusetts* was sending out an Army of men to cut us off: but when they perceived we were removed further into the Countrey, and had left our Lands, Houses, and Labours, where their pretended subjects, by meanes of whom they sought for some temporall occasions against us, lived, they thought it not safe to come out against us, having shew of nothing against us, but only our Religion; therefore seeing themselves disappointed in that desigoe, wherein their Coadjutors, had wrought to bring them in, to make an inroad upon us, they then wrought by these their Agents, who traded for them with the *Indians*, to insinuate themselves into two, or three *Indians* amongst us, to become subiects to the government of the *Massachusetts*, hereby with-drawing them from their lawfull and naturall Prince, *Myantonomy*; and the name of these his subiects, who now became subiects to the *Massachusetts*, were *Pumhom*, and *Soccononocco*; and when this was accomplished, then they againe sent forth their warrants unto us, as formerly to command our appearance at their Courts, in the *Massachusetts*, and that without any consideration or delay, at the first time of their sending unto us after our removall, the Court being then sitting at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts*.

Here



*Here followeth a true Copie of the first Warrant sent unto us, by the Generall Court assembled at Boston, in the Massachusetts, after our removeall unto, and planting upon our Land at Shaw-omet, verbatim, the Warrant under their hand being still extant.*

To our Neighbours, Master *Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Houlden, Robert Potter, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, John Warner, and William Waddle.*

Whereas we have received upon good ground, into our Jurisdiction, and Protection, two *Indian Sachims*, whose names are *Pumham*, and *Soccononoco*, who have lately complained unto us of some injurious and unjust dealing, towards them by your selves; and because we desire to doe equall right and justice to all, and that all parties might be heard, we have therefore thought good to write unto you, to give you notice hereof, that so you might make present answer in the Generall Court now assembled at *Boston* to their complaints, who are now here with us, to attend your coming: And because some of you have been denyed the liberty of coming amongst us, and it may be, others are not willing in other respects, personally to appeare, [1] we doe therefore hereby give and grant safe conduct for your free egress & regress unto us, whereby there may be no just excuse, for withholding you to give satisfaction in this particular.

! They having banished some of us five or six years before, and threatning, that if some of us were amongst them we should hardly see the place of our aboad any more,

*Dated the 12<sup>th</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>. Mo. 1643.*

*Per cur. general. Incr.*

*Nowell Secret.*

This Warrant being delivered unto us, by some of their fore-named Agents, the English, we presently returned them this answer by word of mouth, by their Messenger, telling them, that we being so far out of their jurisdictions, could not, neither would we acknowledge subjection unto any in the place where we were; but only the state and government of old *England*,  
R who

who only had right unto us, and from whom we doubted not but in due season we should receive direction, for the well ordering of us in all civill respects; and in the meane time we lived peaceably together, desiring and indeavouring to doe wrong to no man, neither *English* nor *Indian*, ending all our differences in a neighbourly and loving way of Arbitrators, mutually chosen amongst us: They receiving our answer, tooke it disdainfully, as their intent was to take any we sent, without our personall appearance, being resolved what course to runne concerning us; whereupon they sent us another Writing immediatly from the Court, to informe us, that they were resolved to come downe amongst us, to exercise Justice there.

*Here followeth a true Copie of the Writing which they sent unto us, verbatim, being still extant.*

To *Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, John Warner, John Green, Randall Houlden, Francis Weston, Robert Potter, Richard Waterman, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Nicholas Power, and William Waddle.*

**W**Hereas upon occasion of divers injuries, offered by you to us, and the people under our jurisdiction, both *English* and *Indians*, we have sent to you to come to our Court, and there make answer to the particulars charged upon you, and safe conduct to that end: To which you have returned us no other but contemptuous and disdainfull answers; and now at the last, that if we vould send to your selves, that the cause might be examined, and heard among your owne Neighbours, we should then have justice and satisfaction: We have therefore, that our moderation and justice may appeare to all men, agreed to condescend herein to your owne desire; and therefore intend shortly to send Commissioners into your parts to lay open the charges against you, and to heare your Reasons and Allegations, and thereupon to receive such satisfaction from you, as shall appeare in justice to be due. We give you also to understand, that vve shall send a sufficient

Guard



Guard, with our Commissioners, for their safety against any violence, or injury; for seeing you will not trust your selves with us, upon our safe conduct, we have no reason to trust ours with you, upon your bare courtesie: But this you may rest assured of, that if you will make good your owne offer to us, of doing us right, our people shall returne, and leave you in peace; otherwise we must right our selves, and our people, by force of Armes.

*Dated the 19th. of the 7th. M. 1643.*

*Per our Increase Nowell, Secret.*

The next newes wee had, immediatly upon the receipt of this Writing, (being about our necessary imployments, in provision for our families) was this; that one Captaine *George Cooke*, with a company of armed souldiers, accompanied with many *Indians*, having Commission from the *Massachusetts*, either to bring us away by force of Armes, or else to put us to the sword; which when we heard, we partly beleaved, in regard they had given order by publicke Court, long before, that no Gun-powder should be sold into those parts where we lived, but only to such as would become subjects to them, whereby the place was not only hindred of means of defence from a forraine Enemy, but also to furnish their families with such provisions as the countrey affords: we hearing of their approach, immediatly sent a Letter to those which we heard they stiled Commissioners, which proved to be the Captaine, together with his officers, desiring to know their intent, and what their Commission was to doe in those parts, signifying, that if they came to visit us in way of neighbour-hood, and friendship, to cleare any matter or cause, they should be welcome to us; but if otherwise, we wished them not to set a foot upon our Lands, in any hostile way.

*A true Copie of our Letter verbatim, sent to the Commissioners, as they were upon the way comming from the Massachusetts towards Shaw-omet.*

Shaw-omet the 28th. of September, 1643.

*To certaine men stiled Commissioners, sent from the Massachusetts, now upon the way towards Shaw-omet, whose names we know not.*

**W**Hereas you are sent by the government of the *Massachusetts*, under pretence of having things ordered amongst us, in way of justice, and equity, to be distributed unto themselves, (consisting as they say) of *English* and *Indians*, [m] and that upon this ground, that we have given them an invitation to that purpose; Know therefore our whole intent, and meaning therein, which may not beare any other interpretation in a rationall mind; that as they invited us unto them, as Clients to have our causes tryed by them, and not as Warriors to fight with them, so did we, and no otherwise invite them: Mistake us not therefore, neither deceive your selves through their or your owne pretences; for if you come to treat with us, in ways of equity and peace (together therewith, shaking a Rod over our heads, in a Band of soldiers:) Be you assured, we have passed our Child-hood and nonage in that point, and are under Commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage; but to quit our selves as men; we straitly charge you therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our Land in any hostile way, but upon your perill; and that if any blood be shed, upon your owne heads shall it be; and know, that if you set an Army of men upon any part of our Land, contrary to our just prohibition herein, we are under command, and have our Commission sealed already, to resist you unto death; for this is the Law of our God, by whom we stand, written in all mens hearts, that if you spread a table before us as friends, we sit not as men in vective, envious, or male-content, not touching a morsell, nor looking for you to point us unto our dish, but we eat with you, by vertue of the untained Law of relations, not only to satisfie our stomachs, but to increase friendship  
and

*m* That is, their united body which they so much delight, and glory in, consists by their owne confession of such mixture of Members, as that part are Heathens by their owne report.



and love, the end of feasting : So also if you with us, as Combatants, or Warriors, by the same Law of relations, we as freely and chearfully answer you unto death ; not to kill, and take away the lives of men, but to increase wrath and horreur, the end of warre, in the soules of all men that seeke after it, where the peace of our God appeares not ; and they that worke otherwise, and answer not unto this Law, they are not men of truth, but base dissembling Hypocrites ; shadowes, and abominable Idols, set up in the forme of men.

*By us owners, and Inhabitants of Shaw-omet.*

This Letter being sent unto these Commissioners so stiled by them, though as yet unknowne unto us, by the hand of one *John Peise*, who lived amongst them in the *Massachusetts*, who having a Father in Law amongst us, was willing to come and declare unto his Father, out of his tenderneffe towards him, of the nearnesse of the souldiers approach, and as neare as he could, the end of their coming, to perswade his said Father to escape for his life.

And when the Captaine, and the rest of the Commissioners had read our Letter, they returned us this answer (by the same Messenger) namely that they desired to speake with us, to see if they could convert us to be of their minds, (bringing a Minister with them, to accomplish their ends in such designs) which if they could not, then they would account of us, as men fitted for the slaughter, and with all convenient speed, would addresse themselves for our dispatch in the ruine of us, and of our families.

*Here followeth a true Copie of the answer made by the Commissioners, unto our Letter, verbatim, under their hands, which is still extant.*

*To our friend John Peise. Having considered of the Writing you brought to us the last night, our thoughts concerning it, are as followeth.*

**F**irst it is our great desire, that we might speake with them, concerning the particulars, which we were sent to them about

a This Letter doth plainly declare, the proper intent of the *Massachusetts* in sending out this band of soldiers against us, namely in the falsifying of our faith to God, to subject our selves unto them, (who never named the least word unto us, as though they came against us in the name of the King, and State of old *England*, but in the name of the government of the *Massachusetts*) or else to pay the tribute of our Lives unto them, in the utter ruine of our wives and children, which these men having received in Commission, together with instruction how to accomplish and effect the same, from those that sent them, count it their glory to reveal, and make manifest the same, which the *Massachusetts* had so long gone about to hide, under the colour of some civil miscarriage in our course of walking towards men, in regard themselves had professed, to remove into those parts meerly for the liberty of conscience, which now they so zealously deny unto their neighbours.

about; [n] certainly perswading our selves, that we shall be able through the Lords helpe to convince some of them, at least of the evill of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise must necessarily leade to eternall ruine of them and theirs; for however, through an evill spirit, that hath possessed some one, or two of them, others are drawne into such desperate evils, as is monstrous to thinke of; yet having better counsell, we hope they will be brought to see their weaknesse, and repent of it, that so we might returne, and leave them and theirs in peace, which is our great desire, and the contrary most grievous; but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall looke upon them, as men prepared for slaughter, and accordingly shall addresse our selves, with all convenient speed, not doubting of the Lords presence with us, being cleare in the way we are in: This being our minds, we intreate you to acquaint them with it speedily; and if they shall, who have set their names to their book, doe come to us, and speake with us, we shall give them leave to returne without hurt.

Your Friends and Commissioners  
 sent by the government of the  
*Massachusetts*. Bay into these  
 parts.

George Cooke.

Edward Johnson.

Humphrey Atherton.

The returne of this answer from the Commissioners, as above, affrighted our wives & children, forcing them to betake them-



themselves, some into the Woods among the *Indians*, suffering such hard-ship, as occasioned the death of divers of them, [o] and others going to take water, to depart to other plantations for succour, the souldiers approached before they could take boat, who presented their Muskets at women great with child, forcing them and their children to runne deep into the water, to get into the boat for feare of them [p]; we betaking our selves to one of our houses, for our detence, they presently appeared in sight; *S. Gorton* being out of the house to convey his Wife (who was great with child) towards the water-side for her escape, espied them about Musket-shot from the house, the way which they came being full of wood; they were not sooner discerned but he called unto them, to keepe without the distance of Musket-shot, calling to his friends in the house also to stand to their Armes, for a band of souldiers consisting of *English* and *Indians* were in sight; so committing his Wife to some of *Providence*, which came along with them to convey her to the boat, betooke himselfe to the house with the rest. These our loving neighbours, inhabiting neere unto us in that *Tovvne* where *Master Williams* late downe, being deeply affected with the proceedings of the *Massachusetts*, comming downe unto us along with them, to be eye and eare witnesses how things were carried at our meeting; who instantly urged the Captaine, and officers for a parley, who denyed to yeeld or grant any such thing, but professed they would fall upon us presently, unlesse it might be private betwixt themselves and us, and none else to heare it, professing to make dispatch of us in one quarter of an hours worke, [q] which we understanding refused to enter into

was glad to betake himselfe to the water, though young to recover the Boat. q They had so animated, and encouraged the souldiers, yea, so incensed them against us, that they were loth to entertaine speech or parley, though they say in their last writing they came to examine cases of right and wrong which could not appeare without parley, nay some of their souldiers, picked out to be at the parley, professed to some of us, when they came to visit us as we lay in bolts and irons amongst them, comming in the night, not daring to see us in the day, professed in these words; When we came first to the ground we were madd to fight, and to fall upon you without speeche

parley

or

As the wife of *Jo. Green*, as also the wife of *Robert Potter*, other women miscarrying to the losse of their children.

So also *Francis Weston*, through cold and hardship in prison, fell into a consumption, and in short time after dyed of it.

p The wife of *S. Gorton*, and some of her children, the being ready to lie downe in child-bed, was so dealt with by the souldiers, the boat hasting off for feare, if one of her sonnes could not have swimmied, had been left behind her, so

or parley, but after we saw you, and heard you speake, many of us had rather have been on your side, then for the cause we came, and the Captaine seeing some of us discouraged to fight, would not permit us to discourse with any of *Providence* men, lest they should speake on your behalfe; and this we know, that some that did signifie unto them any small thing concerning the equity of our cause the Captaine seized on them for prisoners, and kept them in bonds, during the time of their abode there, and much adoe to releale them, that they had not taken them downe into the *Massachusetts*, to undergoe further punishments.

parley, unlesse our said neighbours of *Providence* might be present to witnesse the passages of it; but at the last after much affectionate urging, they yeelded to a parley; and foure of *Providence* men to be chosen out as witnesses, which we freely contented unto the mutuall choyce of them, and accordingly we met together; and we demanding of them the end of their comming, they pretended we had done some wrong unto certaine of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors, which we must either repent of, or goe downe to the *Massachusetts* to be tryed at their Courts, or else they had Commission to put us to the sword, and to pay themselves out of our goods, for their charges in comming thither; to which we made answer, we could not yeeld thereunto, that they that were our professed adversaries should be our Judges, we being so farre out of all their jurisdictions; but freely tendred our appeale to the honourable State of *England*, in any thing that could be objected against us, which they peremptorily refused: We then offered to put our case to arbitration, by indifferent men, mutually chosen in the countrey, ingaging our goods, our lands, & our persons, to make full satisfaction for any thing that could be brought in, or appeare against us; which Propositions seemed so reasonable, not only in the eyes of the witnesses, but also to the Captain and the rest, that there was a truce agreed upon, untill such time as a Messenger being dispatcht into the *Massachusetts*, might returne with the answer of the Governour, and Assistants, during the time of which truce, they broke open our houses, and our desks, taking away our Writings, killed our Cattle for themselves, and the *Indians*, whom they brought with them, to live upon  
taking



taking the bedding, with other necessaries in our houses, for the souldiers to lie upon, and make use of, not only at that time, but afterwards in their trenches, during the time of their league, assaulting some of our friends, both men, women, and children, who only came to see us, in that sad time of extremitie, hearing there was a truce concluded for a season, endeavouring to cut them off, upon the water, (being in a small vessell) by shooting halfe a score or a dozen Muskets at them, before they could get out of their reach, which they very narrowly escaped; during the time of this truce, the men of *Providence* (unknowne unto us) sent a Letter to the Government of the *Massachusetts*, to informe them how things had been carried at our meeting, whereof they were eye and care-witnesses.

*A true Copie of the Letter sent by the men of Providence, chosen to be Witnesses, of all passages in way of our parley, to the Governour of the Massachusetts, in way of mediation for peace, to prevent Countrey-men from spilling one anothers blood, it is here set downe verbatim, according to the originall Copie still extant.*

*Providence the 2. of the 8<sup>th</sup>. Mo. 1643. so called.*

**W**orthy Sir, let it not seeme absurd, that we whose names are here under written, present you with these insuing lines; we lately hearing read a Copie of your writing, directed to *Samuel Gorton*, and that company, as also some of us being requested by our neighbour *Cole* (your subject) and (all requested by *Samuel Gorton*, and his company, to heare and see) the truth of proceedings on both sides, our consciences perswading us, that these desires were reasonable, and for ought we know, might be a meanes (if God so wrought) to prevent the shedding of blood; these things we say considered, may (as before) cause our boldnesse. We therefore being filled with griefe at such a spectacle, that the *English* should shed English blood, doe desire to acquaint you with what we did observe, during that respite, that was condescended to, for  
G a treatie;

a treatie; therefore to proceed, after your Commission read, S. G. his company did desire to know in what particulars, you did demand satisfaction; the propositions being declared were foure.

First to get them off the *Indians* ground, which your Commissioners said, they had but intruded.

Secondly, for satisfaction about a Booke, wherein your Commissioners said, were grosse things penned.

Thirdly, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to *English* and *Indians*, under your subjection.

Fourthly, for charges, which your Commissioners said, they had caused by forcing this Army.

Vnto the first they answered, that the ground was theirs, and they were the true owners, and that by the same right that you did claime it, it being long before subjected to the *Nauhyganset Sachim*, and purchased by them of *Myantonomy*, and (to take away all colour of claime) of *Pumham* also, and they having quiet possession of the same, untill this trouble; and therefore did conceive you had wronged them, by bringing an Army, to force them from their ground; your Commissioners pleaded, it was your right, by the *Indians* subjecting to you, and thereupon were very resolute to take them off by force; which they questioned not but immediatly to performe; the other as resolute, considering, they said they had bought it, and vowed to stand upon their lawfull defence, though to the last drop of their blood, the resolution on both sides being so hot, that we thought immediatly the Battle would have began; they did then appeale to the highest Court in old *England*, for the tryall of their right, which when your Commissioners refused, they did againe offer to put it to the tryall of indifferent Judges in this Countrey, which were parties of neither side, and counted it unreasonable, that force should be offered before the cause were tryed, which they judged you could not doe, being parties in the cause, and promised to stand to the determination of those Judges, to the utmost of their estates and persons.

Secondly, being demanded by your Commissioners, satisfaction



tion for the Book, wherein they declared grosse things were penned, they answered, that they would put it, as the former, to be judged by indifferent Judges, both the terms, & satisfaction.

To the third, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to *Indians* and *English*; they answered, they would give full satisfaction.

Concerning the fourth, wherein was great expence and charges required; they answered likewise, as in the former, that they would pay and give to the utmost satisfaction, if the Arbitrators judged, that they were the cause of raising it, and would as fully and freely submit, as to eat and drinke: These being in short the heads, we leave the more ample relation to your Commissioners; Sir so faire Propositions offered, we hope will worke your affections to the utmost end, of preventing blood-spilling: Nay, we hope, if it be but upon the point of honour, rather that you will be losers, then take the utmost; the case we cannot but be sadly affected with, knowing it will be dishonourable to the Lord, if those who professe themselves Christians, should not take the best means for peace; we hope you will not in the least measure take it unkindly for any hint unto you; neither that you will despise *Abigals* counsell, for *Nabals* churlishnesse; let the Lord smite them, and his hand be upon them, if they sinne against him; *If one man sinne against another, the Iudge shall judge him, but if a man sinne against the Lord, who shall intreat for him? 1 Sam. 2. 25.* Now their Proposition is for man to judge, as that first part of the alleadged Scripture doth declare; some of their wives and children (if a mornfull Spectacle might move you) doe begge for a serious consideration of their husbands, and fathers Propositions; which if not hearkned unto, were like in mans eye to be left miserable; we would they were able to write their owne grieffe, which now in pitie we have respect unto: Oh, how grievous would it be (we hope to you) if one man should be slaine, considering the greatest Monarch in the world cannot make a man; especially grievous, seeing they offer termes of peace: Sir, vve knowv not howv to end, nor vvhat to say, vve must abruptly leave desiring your

wisdoms to cover our defects with love, and answer for us, if any shall challenge us, 2 Tim. 2.7.

Chad. Browne. Thomas Olney.  
William Field.  
William Wickenden.

*Here followeth a true Copie of a Letter written by the Governour of the Massachusetts, in answer to the men of Providence, of their Letter written unto him, in way of mediation for peace, which is here set downe verbatim, the Letter being extant under his owne hand.*

*Neighbours of Providence,*

**I** Have received a Letter subscribed by four of you, whom I hear are not of the confederacie with Gorton, Holden, and the rest of that company, wherein as Mediators you intercede between them & us, in the differences now between us; the return of the Messenger is so hasty, that I cannot make a full answer to every thing you have mentioned in your Letter; only you may rest satisfied with this, that the Commission, and instructions given to the Commissioners now at Providence, was not rashly and inconsiderately drawn up; but by the mature advice of the wisest and godliest amongst us, assembled in a generall Court, which I have not power to reverse or alter; and for the justnesse of the Courts proceedings therein, you may doe well to take further notice, that besides the Title of Land, between the *Indians*, and the *English* there, there are twelve of the *English*, that have subscribed their names, to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all Magistracie, who are rather to be judged as Blasphemers, (especially if they persist therein) rather than that they should delude us, by winning time, under the pretence of Arbitration; I doubt not, but you well know, that we have often sent to them, to plead their title to the Land, and to make answer for their Blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe Conducts for their coming, and returning, [r] for all which we have received from them, nothing but storms, contempt, and revilings in the worst expressions they could cast

Which was  
only words  
expressed in  
their paper  
formerly sent  
unto us.



cast them into; so that the promise of protection made by us, to *Pumham*, &c. the vindication of Gods honour, and many reasons concerning our safety, have necessarily put us upon this course with them; notwithstanding which, if any of them will in peaceable manner, repaire unto us, under the conduct of our Commissioners, no violence shall be offered to them, by our souldiers there, and our justice here; but if they refuse, and offer violence, let the hurt they receive be upon their owne heads; further (which I had forgotten) where you say their offer of arbitration is faire, you may doe well to be better informed, and to know that the botome of it is easily founded, which is to win time, to discourage the *Indians*, [1] under our subjection, and to give them time, and opportunity, to stir up (as much as in them lieth) the other *Indians* against [1] us; for to whom would they referre their matters? to your selves whom we know not, but have just cause to feare, in respect of your vicinitie unto them, and your now mediation for them; and to those of *Road-Island*, divers of whom we know too well, to referre any matters unto; [2] the best office you can performe unto them, is to perswade them to attend their owne safety, by yeelding to the lawfull demand of our Commissioners, from which as I said before I cannot vary. So I rest

Your loving Neighbour,

*Jo: Winthrope.*

*Boston 8. 3. 1643.*

to worke out their own ends upon us. <sup>t</sup> Behold here their guilt, in that they had unjustly drawn by insinuation the *Indians* from their lawfull Prince, as also that subtile wrong [they did to us, suggesting secretly unto the people, as though there were feare of some combination between the *Indians* and us, to stir up souldiers by that means to come out against us. <sup>u</sup> Behold how these men can evade all faire Propositions to prosecute, and bring forth their own spirit; yea, even to the death of their countrey men, if it be but by casting aspersions upon those that hold not just length and breadth in religion with them.

Now after the enterchange of these Letters, between the men of *Providence*, and the Governour of the *Massachusetts*, which

*f* Fearing lest the true and naturall Prince of these their *Indian* subjects should shew them their folly in this their subjection, and to win them again unto himselfe, and thereby leave them without this colour and pretence

we at the present were ignorant of, when certaine dayes were expired, the Messengers sent by the Commissioners into the *Massachusetts* to acquaint them with our Propositions, returned, which we perceived by their shooting off of Guns at his coming: And the first thing we discerned in them, they sent out and gathered all our Cattle together, and tooke them into their owne custody, sending two souldiers unto us to give us notice, that the time of truce was expired, and that our Propositions could in no cause be accepted or imbraced by the *Massachusetts*; we then desiring to speake with the Captain and the officers, they utterly denyed to have any speech with us; but immediatly intrinched themselves, and the same day gave fire upon us; whereupon to shew our allegiance to the State of old *England*, we hung out the English colours, which they perceiving shot the more violently against us, shooting the colours many times, through and through: Now when the Messenger from the *Massachusetts* returned, comming through the Towne of *Providence*, two of the men of *Providence* came along to *Shawomet*, to see how things were carried, and what the newes was at his returne; and however the Commissioners would not speake with us; yet the men of *Providence* went unto them, & had speech with them, whom they warned to come no more unto us, upon their perill, for they were resolved of their course; therefore who ever came neer unto us, they would take them for their enemies: For when the Governour and Assitants of the *Massachusetts* perceived that the Commissioners had declared their errand unto us in plainer termes then, then they intended it should have beene; they thought to make the house we were in our grave, was the best way to vindicate the moderation of their equall Justice towards us, as plainly appeared by their practise, and course held concerning us.



*Here followeth a true Copy of the testimony of the two men of PROVIDENCE who came to SHAVV-OMET at the return of the Messenger out of the MASSACHUSETTS verbatim, extant under their own hands.*

WE testifie that upon the return of the Answer, from the Bay, the Captain refused the former offer of appeale to England, or Arbitration in the Country, with the said *Samuel Gorton* and his company, but immediately dissolved the truce, and the same day proceeded to give fire upon them.

*Richard Scot  
William Harriſſe.*

And so continued for divers days together in their fierce assault, the Sabbath approaching, we imagining they would not have continued their assault upon that day, and were very confident that they would go about no such work upon the night before the Sabbath; being we knew well that they held the Sabbath begins in the evening going before, and that they had no lesse ground for it then *Master Cottons* judgment; as also that it was one of their laws that the breach of the Sabbath is to be punished with death. Now what they may judge the killing of their Countrymen causlessly upon that day is, whether to keep or break the Sabbath, we leave to all men to judge.

But contrary to our expectation, early in the morning, having prepared their fire-works, they attempted to burn the house wherein we were, seconding their fire with the discharge of above four hundred shot against us, according to the Souldiers account, who afterwards told us how many shots they had made that morning, according to the emptying of their bandoleers; all which time they told us *Captain Cook* stood behind such a great white oak tree, whom we heard encouraging his souldiers to come on with courage, thinking himself in safety, and so he was, for we discharged not a Gun that morning, nor  
of

of al the time of their siege, but only two in the nighttime at random, to scar them from working their trenches neer unto us; for we had concluded to take away the lives of none of our Countrymen, unlesse they offered to enter violently upon us, which we only fitted our selves to prevent such assault, or else that we were forced out upon them by the firing of our house; only we perceived our words to be shot good enough to keep them aloof. For we called cheerfully upon the Captain to come on and bring up his men; for he should find vs very cheerfull spirits to deal with, and that we would make him as good a Sabbath days breakfast as ever he had in his life; our care was only to quench the fire which they had laid to the wall before we were aware; But we saw the wind took the flame so from the wal that it kindled not upon the house, vwhen the day began to break Captain Cook called to the souldiers to go on with a fresh assault; but we heard some of his Souldiers deny to come on again, being the fire took not; and the day beginning to be light they thought we might shoot from the house at some certainty; we called on the Captain to animate his soldiers, for we understood (we told him) his charrer wheels began to drive very heavy, and were in danger to fall off, and that was all the violence we offered to our Countrymen in this their so eager an assault, though we heard the Captain in the beginning of it, give strict charge to the souldiers that they should not let one escape alive, but to put all to the sword, thinking the fire would have taken, and so we have been a prey for them: But however we discharged not a peece against them, being loth to spill the blood of our Countrymen, though to the hazard of our own lives, yet were we well provided and could easily have done them much hurt; only stood upon our defence so, as they durst not make entry upon us: after which assault they sent back into the *Massachusetts* for more ayd: But in the mean time another parley was procured wherein we consented to go down into the *Massachusetts* upon Composition to prevent the spilling of blood, which we could no longer refrain in the defence of our selves, they having approached so neer unto us; The condition whereof was this, that we should



should goe along with them, as free men, and neighbours, as though such passages had never been betwixt us, which the Captain and his Company consenting unto, beat up the Drum, and gathered his souldiers together, seeming joyfull that things were so concluded; whereupon the Captaine desired to see our house, which request we lovingly imbraced, thinking he intended to refresh himselfe and his souldiers with such provisions as we had, before we set upon our journey towards the *Massachusetts*; but no sooner was he come into the house, but contrary to the Articles of our agreement, he seized upon our Armes, using us as captives, and presently carried us away, not suffering us to dispose of any of our goods, that were in or about our houses, having not so much as a servant left behind, and so left them all as pillage to the *Indians*, [x] the Captain giving charge unto the souldiers, that if any of us spake a word in our journey, to give any of them discontent, that they should presently knock us downe, and if they saw any of us step aside, out of the place designed unto us, that they should run us through, and he would beare them out, in that their action: And withall they drove away our cattle into the *Massachusetts*, dividing and disposing of them amongst themselves; only some of them they had disposed of to such of their subjects, as lived near unto us, who had been instruments and assistants unto them, to bring about and effect this worke. The number of cattle which they took from us was foure-score head, or thereabouts, besides Swine and Goats, which they, and the *Indians*, lived upon during the time of their siege, also breaking violently into our houses, taking away our corne with other provisions provided for our Families to live upon.

x Which they had promised to do as they came on the way towards us to encourage the *Indians* to come with them against us, in the hearing of some of our friends.

*Here followeth an other Testimony, of divers of the men of Providence, given under their hands, set downe here verbatim, for the clearing of these matters, Which Writing is extant.*

Providence this present Iannary the 30.<sup>th</sup>. 1644.

*We whose names are here under Written, Inhabitants of the town of Providence in the Nanhyganset-Bay in New-England, being requested by Samuel Gorton, Randal Houlden, John Wickes, and John Warner, with divers others of our countrey men, to testifie What We know concerning their late sufferings, from the Bay of the Massachusetts, We take our selves bound in conscience, to answer their request, and in a word of truth, impartially to witnesse.*

**F**irst, that our Countrey-men aforesaid, were peaceably possessed of a Plantation, at *Shaw-omet*, amongst the Natives, some ten or a dozen miles beyond this Towne of *Providence*.

Secondly, that the Bay of *Massachusetts*, sent up through this Towne of *Providence*, one Captain *Cooke*, and his company, in warlike manner, who actually assaulted, and besieged our foresaid Countrey-men, who stood upon their own defence.

Thirdly, that the wives and children, of our fore-said Countrey-men upon these hostile courses were affrighted and scattered in great extremities, and divers since are dead.

Fourthly, the said Captaine *Cooke* and his company, carried captive our fore-said Countrey-men through this Towne of *Providence*, to the Bay of *Massachusetts*.

Fifthly, Their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were seized upon, by the fore-said Captain, and his company; their cattle were part killed by the souldiers, and the rest by Agents  
from



from the Bay disposed of, and driven away to the said Bay of *Massachusetts*.

*Richard Scot.*  
*William Harris.*  
*William Field.*  
*Stutley Wascote.*  
*Hugh Bewit.*  
*Thomas Harris.*

*William Barrowes.*  
*Joshua Winsor.*  
*John Field.*  
*Thomas Angel.*  
*William Reighnalds.*  
*Adam Goodwin.*

Now as we passed along on the way to the *Massachusetts*, which was about three-score, or three-score and ten miles, in the common account of men, from our Plantation at *Shawomet*, after they were come into the Townes within their own jurisdictions, in some Townes their Minister which the souldiers brought along with them against us, gathered the people together, in the open street went to prayers, that the people might take notice, what they had done, was done in a holy manner, and in the name of the Lord; and when they came to *Dorchester*, there being many people gathered together, with divers of their Ministers, as Master Cotton, and Master Mather, &c. there they placed us at their pleasure, as they thought fit to have us stand; and made volleys of shot over our heads in signe of victory, [z] and when we were come to *Boston*, and brought before the Governours doore, the souldiers placing themselves and us, as they thought fit, and orderly; the Governour comming forth, walking throughout, all the company of souldiers blessed them; the word which he used as he still passed along was this, God bleſs you, and prosper you: God bleſse and prosper you; [y] when this was done, we were brought into the Governours Hall, before the Governor, Mr. *John Wintrop*e, unto whom we complained, how the Captain had

z A great triumph for a whole country, to carry away eleven men (and that upon faire composition also, if they had kept touch with us;

for one of us, that is *Sampson Shotton*, was dead before by hardship, which some of their spirit had put him upon) and but ten of us that handled arms. y We thought he did it to imitate *Melchisedeck*, comming out to bleſse *Abraham*, when he came from the slaughter of the Kings, in the rescue of *Lot*, he did it so gravely and solemnly, only the Captain wanted the spirit of *Abraham* for all his good successe, yet we thought he was not uncappable to communicate, in that prayer or bleſsing of the Governour; for his errand to us was, to utter and exercise the spirit of the government in his Commission made manifest,

used us, contrary to our Articles; but he told us, what ever the Captain might expresse unto us, his intent was to have us as captives, and their captives now we were; and unto the common Goale we must goe, without either Baile or Mainprize, where we continued untill the Court sate, and the Country comming in on every side, to understand the cause, why they had so proceeded against us; and they labouring to give the country satisfaction, rehearsed in the ears of the people, divers grosse opinions, which they had compiled together, out of our writing, which we abhorred: As that we should deny the humane nature of Christ, which they gathered from this, that we professed his death to be effectually to the Fathers, before the time of his incarnation in the wombe of the Virgin; also that we denied all the Churches of Jesus Christ, because we could not joyne with them in that way of Church order which they had established amongst them; Again, that we denied all the holy Ordinances of Christ, because we could not joyn with them in their way of administration; as also, that we denied all civill Magistracie, because we could not yeeld to their authority, to be exercised in those parts where we lived, (that place being above foure and twenty miles out of their bounds) which we should not once have questioned, if we had beene within the compasse of their jurisdictions, as it well appeared by our carriage, all the time we were amongst them, as also by our sundry appeals unto this State, which have been denied unto us; yea, and since that great favour granted, and given unto that people of *Providence* plantations, in a late Charter of civill government, from this State, our humble respects unto all such authority, hath been made manifest to all men: not only in our unanimous and joyfull imbracing of it, but also some of us by the generall vote of the whole Colonie, have been chosen into the place of Judicature, for the orderly execution of the authority of the Charter; yea, some of us that are now here present, at the publication hereof: Now when we desired liberty to speak in the Court, to answer to such things as were alleaged, and read in the ears of the people, such as is above, with divers more to the  
number



number of about six and twenty, all drawn from our writing formerly mentioned in this Treatise, we denied that we either held, or had writ any such thing, and desired our writing might be read in open Court, that it might appear what was in it, which was denied unto us; only their charges must appeare, by the affirmation of the Bench; for no other man nor woman appeared to testifie a word against us; and when wee continued to deny the constructions they had given of our writings, and abstracted from them, denying them to be ours, we were commanded silence; Master *Thomas Dudley*, one of the Bench, standing up, charging us to be silent, and told us if we were not, they would lay irons upon our legs, and upon our hands, and also upon our necks; whereupon the Court for that time was dissolved, no man objecting against us in the least, in any wrong or injury betwixt man and man; neither at that time, nor in any time of all our tryall amongst them. After which they brought us forth divers times before their Court, which then sate more privately in a Chamber, the door being kept very carefully, that none should enter, but only whom they thought fit to permit, their Court then consisting of about a dozen Magistrates, and about fortie Deputies chosen out of severall Towns, as were thought fit, and many of their Ministers usually present with them to assist in the worke; they then questioned, and examined us apart, to the uttermost they could, to get some matter against us from our owne mouths, and also usually sending their Agents as Elders, [2] and Members of their Churches, [2] unto us in prison,

2 Old M. Ward  
once Lecturer at S. Michael in Co. ne-hill, London, came to the prison window, and called to him one of our society, namely Richard Carder who had oncelived near together in Essex, Mr. Ward seemed to be much affected, being a man knows how to put himselfe into passion, desired the said Richard, that if he had done or said any thing that he could.

with good conscience renounce, he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the Court would be very mercifull; and saith he, it shal be no disparagement unto you, for here is our Reverend Elder, Mr. *Cotton* who ordinarily preacheth that publickly one year, that the next year he publickly repents of, and shews himselfe very sorrowful for it to the Congregation, so that (saith he) it wil be no disgrace for you to recant in such a case. (a) Visually comming to us into the prison, many of them together; As also, when we were put apart in the time of our examination, one of the Members of the Church of *Boston*, telling some of us in his own house, that he was perswaded, that we did not worship the true God; for, saith he then, he would not have permitted you to be brought down from your own Plantation amongst us; for (saith he) I am perswaded, that our Churches shal not be overcome by any people that should come out against them; his wife standing by, being an ingenuous woman, made answer to our content, before we could speak; Husband (saith she) pray doe not boast before the victory be known, it may be the Battle is not yet ended.

frequently putting questions unto us to get occasion against us; thus continuing for the space of two or three weeks together, during which time Master *Wilson* ordinarily in his Sermons, pressed the Magistrates and the people to take away our lives, from that text of the King of *Israel* letting *Benhadad* goe, applying it unto them; that if they let us escape with life, their life should then goe for our life, and their people for our people, urging them from that of *Samuel* and *Agag*, to hew and cut us in peeces; Master *Cotton* also in his Sermons, encouraged the people in the lawfulness of their dealings with us, from that in the *Revelations*, where it is said, the Kingdoms of this world are the Kingdoms of the Lord, and his Christs, whence he observed, that they being the Kingdom of Christ, they were bound to goe out against all people, to subdue all such unto themselves as are weaker then they; otherwise they might stay at home within themselves, and serve God with all their hearts; but they could not serve him with all their might, unlesse they went out to subdue others, and so would be guilty of the breach of that command, *viz. Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God with all thy strength.* Now after our many consultations, and debating of matters with the Magistrates and Ministers, not only in the Court, sometimes one of us answering and declaring of his mind, only in matters of Religion a whole day together, yea part by Candle-light, besides all their more private conferences in the prison, and at other houses, where we were put apart, in custody one from another in the time of our examination: at the last the Court sent for *S. Gorton*, out of prison, to appeare before them; and when he came before them, the Governour told him, he heard there was exception taken, that there should be a rumour, that it was for some civill things they had so proceeded against us, and yet no man appeared to object the least against us, in any civill respect; unto which the Governour himselfe gave answer (not expecting an answer from *Gorton*) that they had set their subjects the *Indians* in their own Land, and that was all they looked after in that respect, but they never questioned in publicke, whether it was right or wrong, to take it from us, only had



had privately called one of us, which was one of the Interpreters, at the buying of it, and the *Indians* their subjects together, to see what could be said in it, and found the *Indians* by their own confession, to make things so clear on our behalfe, that they thought it not fit to bring it into publick scanning of the matter.

The Governour then told *Gorton*, he was now to answer some things that should be propounded unto him upon his life, for it was upon his life that now he was to answer; unto which *Gorton* made answer, that he was to shew unto them all dutifull subjection that might be, being under the government of their jurisdiction, as he had done since his coming amongst them, to give them their due honour and respect to the utmost, which he could not doe but as he looked upon them with relation unto the State of old *England*; by vertue of which power, they sate there, as executioners of justice, unlesse he looked at them, and carried himselfe towards them, as they had respect unto that State, (from whom what power they had was derived) else he could not give them their due honour and respect; for it could no way appeare to be such, but as it was derived from that noble State of old *England*; and therefore, however he had according to what they had demanded, for the clearing of any thing, been free to answer unto them: So now if it was his life that they would now put him upon, he did as freely, and in the presence of them all, appeale to the State of old *England* for his tryall in that point, by vertue of which State only he conceived they sate there as Ministers of justice; and therefore might not deny unto him his just appeale (understanding that the deniall of an appeale, must either presuppose a superiority in them that deny it, or an equality at the least, with the State appealed unto) unto which the Governour made answer, as also Master *John Indicate*, deputy Governour, and bad *Gorton* never dream, or think of any such thing, for no appeale should be granted unto him.

Now the Ministers and Magistrates, having weighed better our Writings, our Examinations in Court, answers to questions  
more

more privately, with any thing, spoken in the prison amongst our selves, which daily ear was lent unto, or our carriage and demeanure in any respect; they had now summed up, and drawn all into four questions, which were now to be answered in case of life and death.

*The Questions were these that here follow, not a word varying in any one of them.*

1. Q. Whether the Fathers, who dyed before Christ was born of the *Virgin Mary*, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered after his incarnation.

2. Q. Whether the only price of our Redemption, were not the death of Christ upon the Crosse, with the rest of his sufferings, and obediences in the time of his life here after he was borne of the *Virgin Mary*.

3. Q. Who is that God whom he thinks we serve.

4. Q. What he means, when he saith, *We worship the Star of our God Remphan, Chion, Molech.*

To these four questions the Court told *Gorton* he must answer speedily upon life and death, and that under his hand writing; he told them he was not willing to answer in any thing but as before he had done; they told him he must give in speedy answer under his hand writing; he asked what time he must have for the answer of them; they told him a quarter of an houre; he told them he could answer them in so short a time, but he knew not whether it could give them satisfaction; for it was as much as for a man to describe *Iesus Christ* what he is, and the way of *Antichrist* also, which might be done in few words; but not to be clear to every man; for a man may describe the whole world in these words; *in the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the earth was without forme and void, and darknesse was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; all the whole worke of creation is in this masse or heape; but to set out the*  
glory



glory and beauty that comes out of this, needs many Phrases to expresse it; even so it is in the description of *the Son of God, Iesus Christ, borne of the Virgin*, it may be done in few words; but to lay out the *nature, benefit, and glory of it*, no small speech, or time can serve to expresse: and therefore desired in word (as before he had manifested his mind unto them) so he might give that present answer which God gave unto him in this point also; but they told him it must be done in writing, and so commanded the Goaler to convey him to an other room to dispatch the same; but as he was going out from them, they called unto him, and told him he should have the liberty of halfe an hours time to performe it in; when he was come into an other room, pen, inke and paper being brought unto him, as he was going to write, word was sent from the Court, that if it was brought in, on the second day in the morning it should suffice, for the Court considering of it, that many of them had farre home, and it being the day of Preparation for the Sabbath (for it was now Saturday in the afternoon) and they thought not fit to sit any longer; so Gorton was conveyed againe into the Prison to the rest of his friends; who continued cheerfully together, all the Sabbath day, as they had done before in the Prison; only some part of those dayes, they brought us forth unto their Congregations, to hear their Sermons, of *occido and occidio*, which was meat not to be digested, but only by the heart or stomacke of an *Ostrich*: But upon the Monday morning, Gorton tooke pen and inke, and writ in answer to every one of the four questions given unto him, as here followeth.

*This is a true Copie of answers, given to the Court of the Massachusets to the four questions, which they required to be answered in writing upon life, and death, in case of Blasphemy, which we were charged with, and sentence so farre passed, as to take away our lives by the sword, in case of not disclayming of our Religion, or erroneous opinions, as they were pleased to call them; the answers are truly set down, verbatim.*

**T**O the first question we answer affirmatively (only assu-  
ming the liberty of our explanation) namely, *The Fathers*  
*who dyed before Christ was borne of the Virgin Mary, were ju-*  
*stified and saved, only by the blood which he shed, and the death*  
*which he suffered, [b] in and after his Incarnation (that is*  
*b Note, that*  
*in this answer*  
there is a word added to their question, which was done of purpose (knowing how they looked) to regulate them, it if were possible, as it was declared unto them, in the first reading of the answer, how they fell short in it, which they yeelded unto; they say, the death which he suffered (after) his incarnation, the answer saith (In) and after his incarnation. For to speake of the sufferings of Christ, after his incarnation, without respect unto that which was before, we may as well speake of his sufferings before his incarnation, without respect to that which is after; for the Crosse of Christ is not, but with respect, both to humane nature and divine, and we cannot know the two natures in Christ, what they are distinctly in themselves, to give each its proper due, and what they are joyntly united in one, no otherwise, but as they are considered in the very act of Incarnation, in which appears the Sufferer, and that which is suffered, the Sufferer is the Son of God made man, the creator becoms a creature; the thing suffered, is to be made a curse, that is to be made such a thing as is in it selfe, by nature accursed, and so Christ was made a curse; the sufferings of Christ then, and the shedding of his blood (as he is known after the spirit) are properly in that one act of his incarnation, which is the proper act of the humiliation of the Son of God, so that to speake of his sufferings after his incarnation, you may as well speake of his sufferings before his incarnation, for it is no suffering of Christ, but with respect, both to the one, and the other, and only in the act of incarnation they are made one; and to speake of the sufferings of Christ visibly, in his humane nature, in the dayes of Herod, to be the proper sufferings of the Son of God, any further, but as a true doctrine (as in all other holy Writ) to teach what that suffering is, in the act of his incarnation, you may as well speake of sufferings of Christ invisibly, before that act of his incarnation, for the Crosse of Christ is not, but with respect, both to divine and humane nature; nor can it be said to be in time, no more then it may be said to be before all time; for the humiliation of the Son of God, admits not of any bounds or limits, for then were it not of infinit value; and if not of infinit value and vertue, then not the humiliation of the Son of God, nor could it be said to be the blood of God, as the Apostle calls it; so that as he himselfe is not, but as the first and the last become one, even so his sufferings are not, but in that one act, of the curse  
and



and bleiding, being made one. I his being premised which was signified unto them by word of mouth, the answer runs clear, to understand Christ according to the spirit, otherwise a man may canalize the answer unto himselfe as he knows Christ after the flesh, as the world doth the whole word of God, so also the seed of *Abraham*, is to be understood as *Abraham* himselfe is; *Abraham* is the Father of Christ, as in the Genealogy it appears; so saith *David* in the person of Christ, our Fathers trusted in thee, meaning *Abraham* for one, and Christ also is the Father of *Abraham*, therefore hee is called the everlasting father; and Christ himselfe saith, before *Abraham* was I am, such also is the seed of *Abraham*, it produceth and brings forth the Son of God, and the Son of God produceth and brings forth it; so is it with the Virgin, she is the mother that gives form, and being to Jesus Christ, he also gives form and being unto her; therefore she calls him her Lord and Saviour; the woman brings forth the man, a Virgin conceives and bears a Son; the man brings forth the woman, made of a rib, out of his innocent side; so that the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord; these two being separated, the Contract is broken, the Devorce is made, and not being rightly united, the word is adulterated, we are in our sin. The mysterie of this answer then lies in this, (which Pharasies understand not) if Christ be the Virgin *Maries* Son, conceived in her womb, and born of her, how doth the Virgin *Mary* in spirit call him her Lord God, and Saviour?

on this wise; that the guilt and stain of man is not, but with respect unto the holy word of God, the disobedience whereof, by eating the forbidden fruit, breeds an infinit distance, between God and his owne Worke, without the least defect or blame to be found or imputed unto the Word of God, but the sole defect and blame is in the creature, even in man himselfe, yet could he in no case be so miserable, but with respect unto the holy Word; even so the justification and salvation of the Fathers, was by the holy word of God, not but with respect and relation unto the seed of *Abraham*, and the Son of *David*, (conceived and borne of the Virgin *Mary*) in whom they were justified and saved, and yet no vertue nor power, arising out of any thing that is humane; man therefore is a sinner of infinit guilt, with respect unto that word, which was before all time, and no fault to be found in the Word at all; the word of God is a Saviour of infinit value, with respect unto the seed of the Virgin *Mary*, borne, suffering, dying, and rising againe in the fulnesse of time, and yet no vertue in that seed at all, unto whom all the Prophets bear witness, having an eye unto him in all their holy Writings, and the faith of the Fathers comprehending Christ, both in the one, and in the other respect, were justified and saved by him alone, his death being reall and actuall unto faith, God having the same coexistence

with the creature in all ages, though the creature cannot have the same with him but in time.

*To the second Question depending upon, or rather involved in the former We answer.*

Mans rejection of the Word of God, being his sinne and separation from God, is the only forfeiture of himselfe, *which could not be, but with respect unto the word of eternity*; even so Gods Righteousnesse revealed by taking man into unitie with himselfe, *is the only price of our Redemption*, with respect unto the death of Christ upon the Crosse, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience, from the time of his Incarnation, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, to his ascension into Heaven, without which there is no price of our Redemption.

To the third Question, who we thinke that God is, that men serve, that are not of the faith above said: we answer that all mens hearts are awed (by the true God) to bow in worship: therefore when the Apostle looking upon the inscription upon the Altar at Athens, it is said, *he beheld their devotion* (or as the word is) *the God which they worshipped, though ignorantly, yet it was he only that he declared unto them*: So the Apostle James, *thou beleevest, that there is one God, thou doest well, the Devils also beleeve and tremble.*

The fourth Question therefore is the explanation of the third, namely what we mean by *Molech*, and the *Star* of that God *Remphan*: to which we answer, that the Scripture alluded unto, \* makes difference between those Gain-sayers of the Fathers *which fell in the Wildernesse*, and those of the true seed, *that gave faithfull Testimony unto the Oracle of God*; the Rebels of the sons of Levy, would not take up, nor beare the Arke of God, as their duty was, nor give the light and lustre of a Star in the Tabernacle, when it was pitched (for the seven Stars are the seven Angels:) But as they had the power of a worldly Ruler, or Governour to defend them in their worke, and to subdue all that were not of their mind under them: therefore they tooke up the Tabernacle of *Molech*, or bore the Booth of the King, and gave the light of *Remphan* (alluding unto *Rapba*, who in Davids dayes had four sonnes, were mighty Gyants, warring only by the strength of the



the Arme of flesh) so that they would not give Testimony unto the holy way of God; but as they had a King set over them, besides Moses, to defend them, when as a greater then Moses was there: And in this they turned backe in their hearts, unto Egypt, looking unto the way of Pharaoh, that would subdue all that were not of his own way, and be a defence unto his wise men in what ever they wrought; but the faithfull seed of Abraham, had the Tabernacle of Witnesse, or witnessed unto the Tabernacle, even in the Wilderneck, where there was no worldly Governour to defend them, but all came out against them, Ammon and Amaleck, Balack, Ogg, and Sihon, and the rest; in the which condition Stephen perceiv'd himselfe, when he witnessed unto the word of truth, in alleadging that place of the Prophet \*.

Samuel Gorton.

Amos 5:26.

Upon the finishing of these answers on the Munday morning, the Court sent for S. Gorton to come before them; and when he was come, the Governor asked him, whether he had brought in his answer to the questions propounded unto him (at their last sitting) in writing, he answered he had brought them; then the Governor asked him, whether he had put his hand unto them, he answered he had not, not thinking it would be required, else he had done it; the Governour called for pen and inke, and caused him to put his hand unto them, and then demanded them of him, Gorton desired he might have liberty to read them first in the Court, that he might pronounce the Phrases and words according to the true meaning, and intent, having had experience of wrong done, in reading (in way of pronounciation of things not plainly) before, to the giving of true intelligence to the hearers, when the answers were read in the audience of the Court, the Court paused, and no man said any thing unto them, only bade Gorton with-draw, which being done, they had some consultation among themselves, and shortly after called for Gorton to be brought in again: Master Saltingstone found fault, that it was written in the answer, what is the Star of (that) God Remphan, whereas it was in the writing (your, God Remphan) Gorton answered, the Phrase was only changed for modesty; for indeed (saith He.) it is the

phrase

phrase of the Apostle, *your God Remphan*, and to it rested to clear that scruple. The Governour told *Gorton*, that they were one with him, in those answers; for they held as he did; *Gorton* answered he was very glad of it, for he loved not differences and divisions amongst men: the Governour then asked him whether he would retract the writing that was formerly written unto them; *Gorton* answered, that nothing was written before, but would suit and agree, with these answers; so that if there was cause to retract one, there was cause to retract all; the Governour said, no, these answers they could agree with him in; but not in the former writing; whereupon Master *Dudley* stood up, seeming to be much moved, and said he would never consent to it whilst he lived, that they were one with him in those answers; the Governour then asked *Gorton* what Faith was: to which he answered, that was nothing that concerned what they had formerly written, and that he and the rest had only undertaken to answer to any thing that was in their writing: the Governour told him, he was bound, and ought to be ready to give an answer to any that should aske him a question of the hope that is in him; *Gorton* made answer, that the definition which the Apostle gives of faith, was sufficient, as he thought to give any man satisfaction; he asked him what that was, he told him it was this; *that faith is the hypostasis or substance of things that are hoped for, and the evidence (or argument demonstrative) of things that are not seen, nor demonstrated at all*; the Governour told him that was true, but he could say more of faith then so; *Gorton* told him, it gave him satisfaction, and being an other point then they had had to deale about, since their comming amongst them, and being no question produced from former writings, desired to be spared from any further answer then the plain words of the Apostle; whereupon Master *Broadstreet* made answer, that he thought it was not fit to put him upon any new questions, unless he were free to speake unto them, and so they dismissed him from the Court to the Prison againe.

Shortly after this, there was a day appointed, wherein wee were



were to receive our sentence from the Court, which was to be given in the afternoon, and in the forenoon Master Cotton preached, having gathered up the minds of the people, in what they had observed, and perceiving the people took notice, that in what we dissented from them, was out of tenderneſſe of conſcience, and were ready to render a reason and ground for what we held and practiſed, & divers ſuch like things; to which he answered, that if we had done it out of ignorance, then there had been hopes of regaining us; but if out of tenderneſſe of conſcience, and able to render reason for what wee did (*and other things of like nature*) then were we ripened for death, urging them to agree together, and conſent in one thing, that ſo it might be, *else would not the Angels carry their ſoules to heaven*; for he was then ſpeaking of the office of the Angels in that point; and when by all their examinations in Court, *Inturgatories* put upon us in Priſon, and publicke preaching, they could find nothing againſt us, for the tranſgreſſing of any of their Lawes, they then proceeded to caſt a lot for our lives, putting it to the major vote of the Court, whether we ſhould live or die, which was ſo ordered by the providence of God, that the number of two votes carried it on our ſide; and whereas both by Law, Equitie, and act of Providence, they ought to have ſet us forthwith at liberty, yet notwithstanding they proceeded further to cenſure; namely, confined us to ſeverall Towns, and to wear bolts and irons, and to worke for our livings, though it was in the extremity of winter, and not to ſpeak of any of thoſe things which they had dealt with us about, and all this during the pleaſure of the Court, and that upon pain of death.

Here

*Here followeth a true Copie of the censure, and of the charge as it was given unto us in Writing by the Court, being extant, and here set down verbatim, as it was given to Samuel Gorton, the rest being the same, but onely the change of the names.*

*For Samuel Gorton.*

**I**T is ordered that *Samuel Gorton* shall be confined to *Charlstonne*, there to be set on worke, and to wear such bolts or irons, as may hinder his escape, and so to continue during the pleasure of the Court; provided, that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the meane time, either by speech or writing, publish, declare, or maintaine any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies, wherewith he hath been charged by the generall Court, contained in either of the two [c] books sent unto us by him, or by *Randall Houlden*: or shall reproach, or reprove the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united Colonies, or the civill government, or the publicke Ordinances of God therein (unlesse it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any Elder, or with any other licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants) that immediately upon accusation of any such writing, or speech, he shall by such Assistant, to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there to be tryed by a Jury, whether he hath so spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death, and executed.

*Dated the 30. of the 90. Moneth, 1643.*

*Per. cur.*

*Increase Nowell, Secret.*

¶ Whereas they name two books written unto them, there was an other writing sent unto them by us, but it was no ground of any of their proceedings against us, therefore we thought it not fit to bring it into this treatise; for they had concluded upon, what

they would doe unto us, and were gone out for execution before that writing came unto them for it onely met the sculdiers on the way towards us, with Commission to put us to the sword; we shall desire to publish it by it selfe; for we are willing to have it known, and we made answer to any thing in it, they could seem to object, when wee were amongst them. The *Massachusetts* promised the people, that however they might not hear our writings read then among them, yet they should see them shortly in print, but they put us to the labour and cost of it; else they cannot be content to have them lie buried, but render them, and their dealings with us, in all places wher they come, to be other things then indeed they are.



*A Copie of the Charge.*

**S**amuel Gorton, being convict as a blasphemous enemy to the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and all his holy Ordinances, and also to all civill authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction, as appeareth by writings and speeches.

This charge being laid upon us, at the Barre before we heard of the censure (though they came as above in writing to us:) the Governour asked us, *whether we bowed under it, and whether we would retract*; we answered and told them (*as in the presence of God*) that the charge *neither bowed nor touched us at all*, for we were free, and farre from being guilty of any such things, and for our retraction, we told them *we came not there to deny our Religion, in any point of it, but to testifie and bear Witnesse unto it*; then did they reade our censure, for our confinement, as is above said; and when the bolts and chains were made ready, they put them upon us, in the prison at Boston, that so we might travell in them to the severall Towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to goe from Boston; only we were to stay till Master Cotten his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the Congregation in that our iron furniture, for the credit of the Sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose, and after that were with all speed sent away; yea, some of us among the people that went from the Lecture, that so we might be a spectacle unto them.

In which condition we continued a whole winter season; in which time their Ministers stirred up the people in their publick Sermons to *famish us to death*, out of that place of the Prophet Zephany, *2. 10. 11. This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached, and magnified themselves against the people of the Lord of Hosts; the Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famish all the Gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heathen.* Samuel Gorton having intelligence, from

*d* We had liberty to speak or write to Elders, or such as the Magistrates lycensed to speake with us, in way of question, whom they thought were fittest to insnare us, so that this writing is but a question, only it hath a large preface.

*Mr. Green.*

*c* Psal. 6. ii.

*Mat.* 28. 19,

20.

*f* Act. 4. 13. 19.

20:

*g* Luk. 10. 41. 42

*h* Cor. 9. 16.

*i* Rom. 10. 17.

*k* 2. Cor. 4. 13.

*Collos.* 2. 10.

*l* Psal. 4. 6.

*Boston*, to *Charles-Town*, to which he was confined; that *Master Cotton* preached from that text in the prophecie of *Zephany*, and how he applyed the doctrine from it to have all necessities with-held from him, telling some eminent members of the Church, that if they either went unto us, to visit us, or sent unto us, to minister to our wants, the curse of God would abide both on them and their posterity, for so doing; the said *Gorton* hearing of these things, writ a Letter to the ruling Elder in *Charles-Towne*, [*d*] a Copie whereof (*verbatim*) here followeth, which was consulted upon, by the Ministers immediately, together with the Governour, as intelligence was brought unto him, but never answer given unto it, neither by word nor writing.

*Charles-towne, January the 12. 1643.*

For as much as we know that the Ruler of the Congregation hath power to give utterance, and to authorize speech unto edification, [*e*] and that none ought to hinder, where ever or whomsoever he permits or giveth License unto, [*f*] and in as much as we also professe, that there is one thing that is needfull, and whosoever shall make choise of that, it shall never be taken away from him *g*, which is to hear the words of Christ. Neither are we ignorant, that none are truly sensible, or know the necessity, use, and benefit of *hearing the Word of Christ*, but only such as are sensible, and see their necessitie; (yea, and that in the same subject) of *speaking and delivering the words of Christ* *h*, for the heart of every Saint is equally ballanced with these two; the same necessitie he finds *to speak*, he also finds *to heare*; the same necessitie he finds *to heare*, he finds *to speake also the Word of God*, for *faith is in hearing*, and *hearing is in speaking the word of God* [*i*]; if we deny either of these unto a Christian, we deny him the power of faith, which doth consist in them both; nay, if he want a tongue to speake, or an eare to heare (and that equally, the one as the other) we deny him to be compleat in Christ [*k*], who as he had an eare open to the voice of the Father in all things [*l*], so had he a tongue



to divulge and declare them unto the world; <sup>[m]</sup> even so with <sup>m</sup> Job. 17. 6. 26  
 the heart man beleeveth unto righteousness, <sup>[n]</sup> that is, gives <sup>n</sup> Rom. 10.  
 credit to that which he hears, to be in another, and with the 10.  
 mouth confession is made to salvation, <sup>[o]</sup> that is, preacheth, <sup>o</sup> Rom. 10. 9  
 or professeth that which God hath made him to be by faith, 10.  
<sup>[p]</sup> therefore if thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Je- <sup>p</sup> Psal. 116.  
 sus, and beleeve in thine heart that God raised him up from the 10.  
 dead thou shalt be saved <sup>[q.]</sup> nor am I ignorant of the minds <sup>q</sup> Rom. 10. 9  
 of the people, (amongst whom I now sojourne, and am a <sup>r</sup> Psal. 39.  
 stranger as all my Fathers have beene) <sup>[r.]</sup> How earnest they 12.  
 are I should get my bread vvith servile worke, or else to have  
 hunger and famine to cleave unto my bonds, vvhich they pro-  
 fesse themselves to be very clearely instructed in, though in  
 times past it hath been thought sufficient work for a man to be  
 exercised in (at one time) to lie in fetters and irons amongst  
 strangers, though wife and children were not deprived of all ne-  
 cessaries at home. Nor doe I doubt, but they may find a time  
 to alter their judgement (it may be before they are aware) <sup>f</sup> Mat. 25. 6  
 especially if the Bride-groom be at the door <sup>[s.]</sup> and it is well 10.  
 known, that I have not been accustomed to any servile worke  
 in any part of my life till now of late in New-England, where  
 through the kindnesse of my countrey men, in taking from my  
 family the things of this life, (which God had bestowed on us)  
 I have been necessitated thereunto, which I am so upbraided  
 with in this place.

But it is not grievous unto me, whilst they cannot but see  
 in it (if God have not blinded their eyes) the vanity of those  
 idle shepherds of the Church of Rome \*, who cannot speak  
 unto the people, but in a way of so much study and ease; nor  
 had I ever desire, to be set up in the world, through gatherings  
 and contributions of the people: Therefore have these hands  
 ministered to my necessities <sup>t</sup>. But however I have been exerci-  
 sed about the bread that perisheth <sup>u</sup>, yet hath it not been but  
 with respect unto that which endureth unto everlasting life <sup>w</sup>,  
 which I have endeavoured to break <sup>x</sup>, and faithfully to impart  
 unto my wife, children, and servants, and to any that had an  
 ear open to listen unto that wholesome word of life <sup>y</sup>, which

\* Wheresoever  
 the doctrine,  
 spirit, & pow-  
 er of it doth  
 appeare.

<sup>t</sup> 1 Cor. 4. 11, 12.

<sup>u</sup> Acts 20. 34.

<sup>w</sup> Job. 6. 27.

<sup>x</sup> Job. 6. 33.

<sup>y</sup> Acts 20. 7.

<sup>z</sup> Job. 6. 63, 68

- hath made all other travells or losses, whatever, to be light and easie unto me (as at this day) <sup>a</sup>, which I professe to be the only errant I have to do in this world: and however we do preach the Gospel, yet have we nothing to rejoyce in <sup>a</sup> or to glory and praise our selves for, to lift up our selves above our Brethren: for necessity is laid upon me <sup>b</sup>; That is, I am in want, and stand in need of all things; and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel: That is, if I receive not this grace from Christ, as well as any other: for the same necessity I have of any other grace, I have of this grace also: For of his fulnesse we all receive, and grace for grace <sup>c</sup>, for the graces of God are a bundle of life in Christ Iesus <sup>d</sup>: So as, that if I reject, or neglect, or put off any one of them to another, as no priviledge or prerogative of mine, I do the like to all: For his seamlesse coat may not be divided, but all goeth by lot or portion the same way <sup>e</sup>: And in like manner I am destitute of this, I am destitute of all other grace, that proceeds from him: For if I preach the Gospel willingly, I have a reward <sup>f</sup>: That is, if I do it out of any ability, skil, or wil of my own, gotten and acquired by any pains or industry, as men attain to arts, and trades, wherein they are to be preferred before, and above others, then I have a reward: that is, something is to be attributed and contributed to me for the same, then go I about to deprive my Lord of his right, shewing my self an unfaithful steward <sup>g</sup>: for where an hundred is due to him, I bid write fifty, that I may take the rest my self to live upon <sup>h</sup>; for even as I propound my own deserts, demerits, and eminency unto a people; so do I propound the undeserving estate and condition of my Lord; proclaiming his basenesse whilst I set forth my pains and good-wil in so doing, but if I do it against my wil <sup>i</sup>: That is, if it be contrary to the mind and wil of all men, to undergo the crosse of Christ, to preach the Gospel in necessities, reproaches, hard labors, and persecutions <sup>k</sup>; then is the dispensation committed unto me <sup>l</sup>: that is, the right of all administrations (wrapped up in that fountain of dispensing; the Gospel) do of right solely belong unto him, and not unto me in any case, yea, it is the wil and power of another <sup>m</sup> and not my own, unto whom the praise and glory of right belongeth and wholly appertaineth <sup>n</sup>, and not unto the wil, ability
- <sup>a</sup> Mat. 11. 28.  
<sup>a</sup> 29, 30.  
<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 16.  
<sup>b</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>c</sup> John 1. 16.  
<sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. 25. 29.  
<sup>e</sup> Cant. 1. 13.  
<sup>e</sup> Math. 27. 35.  
<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 17.  
<sup>g</sup> Luke 16. 1.  
<sup>h</sup> Luke 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.  
<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 17.  
<sup>k</sup> 2 Cor. 23. to 28.  
<sup>l</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 17.  
<sup>m</sup> Rom. 1. 16.  
<sup>n</sup> Psa. 105. 1.



lity, or skil of any man whatsoever <sup>o</sup>: and hence it is *that the* <sup>o</sup> James 1. 18.  
*Crosse is easie unto us* <sup>p</sup>, because we know that he, as truly, and <sup>p</sup> John 1. 13.  
totally taketh our reproaches and hardships *upon himselfe* <sup>q</sup>, <sup>p</sup> Math. 11. 28  
*which are only due unto us*: as he committeth the dispensation <sup>q</sup> Math. 3. 17  
of his grace and glory unto us, that is none of ours, but only  
due and belongs unto himself, so that *we remember him that*  
*suffered such gain sayings of sinners, least we should be weary and*  
*faint in our mind.* <sup>r</sup>: yea further, *there is a necessity of preaching* <sup>r</sup> Heb. 12. 3.  
*the Gospel upon every soul*: for as there is not any *that can be-*  
*leeve, for another, unto righteousness* <sup>s</sup>, the party being desti- <sup>s</sup> Rom. 10. 10.  
tute of that grace himself, so there is not any *that can preach or*  
*confesse for another unto salvation* <sup>t</sup>, the party himself being de- <sup>t</sup> Ibid.  
stitute of that grace of confession or preaching: Indeed the Saints <sup>u</sup>  
communicate in these graces one with an other, as all of them  
being *heirs and inheritors of the same grace in Christ* <sup>u</sup>, but one <sup>u</sup> Rom. 8. 17.  
cannot perform any office for another, as for such as are destitute  
of the same grace and office *themselves* <sup>w</sup>: for that were instead of  
a girdle a rent <sup>x</sup>: Therefore the preaching of the Gospel *is the* <sup>w</sup> 1 Cor. 12. 2  
*discovering of what men are in Christ Iesus*, and not only what <sup>x</sup> Isa. 3. 24.  
they may or shal be <sup>y</sup>, also what men are under the wrath of <sup>y</sup> 1 John 4. 17  
God that abides upon them, being out of Christ <sup>z</sup>. and not only <sup>z</sup> John 3. 36.  
what they shal be: So that every Christian having received this <sup>a</sup> James 1. 21  
(as an ingrafted word <sup>a</sup> growing up together with it) that is,  
that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communica- <sup>b</sup> Rom. 1. 11  
tion of your faith & mine <sup>b</sup>, he grows up in this also, namely, <sup>b</sup>  
that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communica- <sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. 6. 2.  
tion of your preaching and mine, for in the day of the Lord which <sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. 6. 3.  
is the day of salvation, and behold now the accepted time, behold <sup>e</sup> Heb. 9. 26.  
now the day of salvation (<sup>e</sup>) wherein we give no offence, or lay <sup>f</sup> 27.  
not any stumbling block before our brethren (<sup>d</sup>); we villifie not <sup>f</sup> 2 Cor. 6. 3.  
that sacrifice once offered up for all (<sup>e</sup>). That our ministry may <sup>g</sup> Zech. 12. 8  
not be reprehended (<sup>f</sup>). Or that our ministry be not blemished, <sup>h</sup> Psal. 2. 6.  
for so the word is (*momos*) that is we can acknowledge no <sup>i</sup> Psal. 78.  
sacrifice, but onely that which is without either superfluity or de- <sup>j</sup> 70. 72. 73.  
fect; and in that day the feeblest in Iernsalem, is as David <sup>k</sup> 2 Sam. 18.  
a King <sup>h</sup>, a leader <sup>i</sup>, a valiant warriour, <sup>k</sup> a sweet singer in Isra- <sup>3</sup>.  
el <sup>l</sup>, and the house of David as God, or as the mighties (for the <sup>1</sup> Sam. 18. 7.  
word is plural) yea as the angel of the Lord before them; <sup>m</sup> every <sup>1</sup> Sam. 23. 1.  
one <sup>m</sup> Zech. 12. 8

- one is as the angel or messenger of the Lord, before the rest of the congregation, or as the angel of the Lord before (him) as the word will also beare, that is to say, as the messenger of the Lord, like unto his servant *John*, to prepare or make ready his way before him, <sup>1</sup> for the messenger of the Lord, and he onely knows how to bring down the high mountain, and how to lift up the lowest valley, and that only is a high way for the Royalty of our King to passe upon <sup>m</sup> in the wildernesse. And this is a glory that the world cannot receive, neither can it give it <sup>n</sup>: and it is our rejoycing that we borrow nothing from the world, nor stand in need of any thing it hath, to make the Gospel of God glorious, for it were better for us to die, then that any man should make our rejoycing vain, or emptie <sup>o</sup>. For it were not full in Christ, if we borrowed any thing of the world, which were death to us to think of; what is our rejoycing then, or our reward, when as the whole world affordeth nothing at all unto us? verily this that when we preach the Gospel, we make it free, <sup>p</sup> which could not be, if it laid claim to any thing the world hath in the publication of it self; for then by the Law of relations, the world might lay claim unto, and challenge something from (it) which were to bring the Gospel into bondage, But as the Lord Jesus wrought that great work of reconciliation freely, so as the world could challenge nothing of it at his hands at all, so is that word of reconciliation, to whomsoever it is committed <sup>q</sup>, published freely, so as the world can challenge nothing of them at all <sup>r</sup>; So that the servant of the Lord is free from all men, though he makes himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more. <sup>s</sup> Thence it is that he abuseth not his authority in the Gospel but keeps his power unspotted <sup>t</sup>, when the world can require nothing at his hands; hereby shewing also the transcendencie of that kingdome, wherein his authority is exercised; beyond the kingdoms of this world which must not borrow one of another, else cannot any be glorious in the height of glory concerning the things of this life; therefore had Solomon himself Gold, Silver, Ivory, apes, and peacocks, brought from other nations to augment his glory, <sup>y</sup> But he that is greater then Solomon <sup>z</sup> beautifieth himself with none of the things of this life <sup>y</sup>, though he had
- <sup>1</sup> Mal. 3. 1.  
<sup>Mat.</sup> 11. 10.  
<sup>m</sup> Luk. 1. 17.  
<sup>Luk.</sup> 3. 5. 6.  
<sup>n</sup> John 14.  
<sup>17. 27.</sup>  
<sup>John</sup> 16. 22.  
<sup>o</sup> 1 Cor. 9.  
<sup>15.</sup>  
<sup>p</sup> 1 Cor. 9.  
<sup>18.</sup>  
<sup>q</sup> 2 Cor. 5.  
<sup>18.</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> Cor. 11.  
<sup>7. 8 9.</sup>  
<sup>r</sup> Mat. 10.  
<sup>8.</sup>  
<sup>1</sup> Cor. 9. 1.  
<sup>1</sup> Cor. 7. 23.  
<sup>s</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 19  
<sup>t</sup> 1 Cor. 9. 18.  
<sup>u</sup> 1 Kin. 10.  
<sup>22.</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> Chr. 9. 21.  
<sup>x</sup> Mat. 12.  
<sup>22.</sup>  
<sup>y</sup> Mat. 8. 20  
<sup>Isa.</sup> 52. 14.
- right



right to them, <sup>z</sup> that so he might make it manifest that his <sup>z</sup> Rom. 4. 13  
Kingdome is not of this world, <sup>a</sup> therefore gives charge unto his <sup>14.</sup>  
disciples, that as they had freely received, so they should freely <sup>Gal. 4. 7.</sup>  
give: <sup>b</sup> for by how much we injoyne people to contribute unto <sup>a</sup> Iohn 18. 36  
us for preaching the Gospell, by so much we proclaim, that we <sup>b</sup> Mat. 10. 8  
have given unto God for what we have received of him, <sup>c</sup> and <sup>c</sup> Iob. 35. 7. 8  
teach others: so to do, <sup>d</sup> namely to bring some preparations, ope-  
ration, or fitnessse to receive his grace, which is as far from man <sup>d</sup> Mat. 5. 19.  
to attain unto, as it was to prepare and fit himself for his creation <sup>c</sup> Gen. 2. 7.  
at the first, <sup>e</sup> so that the benevolence of the Saints in commu-  
nicating of the things of this life, is no part of the glory or beau-  
tifying of the house of God; for then a wicked man might adde  
somewhat therunto, nor shall the glory in the least measure  
be diminished, when these things shall have an end. But it is a  
declaration of their vilification of the things of this present life,  
as things of no account or reckoning, when they come into  
competition with the well being of the Saints; and as these  
things are consumed, and turned into ashes, upon that golden altar, <sup>f</sup> Levit. 9.  
<sup>f</sup> so doth there ascend up a perfumatory sacrifice of sweet savour, <sup>24.</sup>  
unto the Lord, <sup>g</sup> for according to our vilification of the things of  
this life, so is our valuation of the Lord Iesus, who is either all <sup>g</sup> Phil. 4. 18  
or none at all in our estimation and account, and if he be all <sup>h</sup> Col. 3. 11.  
then he that gathereth much of the things according unto man <sup>h</sup> Ephe. 1. 23.  
hath nothing over, <sup>i</sup> or above him that hath the least, and he <sup>i</sup> 2 Cor. 8.  
that gathereth little hath no lack <sup>k</sup> or falls short of him that <sup>k</sup> 2 Cor. 8.  
hath the most, for the one, and the other consume them in the <sup>15.</sup>  
act of the present supply of their necessity, knowing that if they <sup>1</sup> Exod. 16.  
keep them, in making any account or reckoning of them, for <sup>19. 20.</sup>  
the time to come, they presently putrifie and corrupt <sup>1.</sup> Learn  
this parable therefore, that there is that in the heavenly Manna <sup>m</sup> Iohn 6. 5. 8  
that the rebels may eat in the wilderness and die eternally, as well  
as that which whosoever eateth shall never die, but live for ever <sup>n</sup> Iohn 6. 58.  
yea there is a seed to be sown in giving away to another, as well  
as food to receive for the nourishing of our selves; and he that  
sows sparingly in that shall reap sparingly <sup>o</sup> yea he that knows <sup>o</sup> 2 Cor. 9. 56.  
not how to minister carnall things, cannot have Spirituall  
things ministered unto him <sup>p</sup> no more then a man can keep his <sup>p</sup> Rom. 15. 27.  
finne

- q 2 Cor. 14. 15. 16. sinne, and have the righteousness of Christ also. q Those onely therefore that in giving and receiving know how to perform all in the same act, as the woman in casting her two mites into the treasury, r and out of deep povertie can see the abounding of the riches of liberality s; Such can perform an acceptable service to the Lord; but such as onely exercise themselves in piece mealing of the things of God, and the things of man, to serve at times and turns, for advantage, and reserve the rest, this is as the cutting off of a dogs head, or the offering of swines blood in the house of God t how ever else where they may be done without any such abomination, the Saints therefore depend not upon neither desire the worlds benevolence, knowing wel what their mercies are in the winding up, u nor can they expect from them ought else, but bonds, imprisonments, x and spoiling of their goods y (which through the secret supplies their master makes unto them) they suffer joyfully, z not looking for so much as a shoe latchet from the King of Sodom, to enrich themselves with all a knowing that the blessing of the Lord upon their indeavours b shall yield sufficient to convey them through this vally of Baca c, which indeavours, God directeth unto times and seasons to use according to strength, and constitution, without any to lay tasks upon them, d even as he teacheth the husbandman when to throw in the cummin, and the fitches e, though they know (notwithstanding) what it is to have power, not to work, and to lead about a wife, that is a sister as well as others. f But I am longer in my introduction, then I did intend, my Question therefore in short is this, namely whether I may have liberty to speak and expresse the word of the Lord in the publick congregation freely without interruption, either on the Lords day, or the ordinary Lecture, now whilst I am kept from my family, and friends, with whom I have been formerly exercised: for seeing our dayes as a shadow decline, g and we are presently withered as grasse, h when in a moment we go hence, and are no more i: We are earnest therefore to expresse the word of life that fadeth not, nor waxeth old as doth a garment, k what Gods memoriall may abide with our posterity l when we are gone the way of all the earth, m and that you shall not need to feare my touching upon



any of those things which it seems are to lie sealed as in the grave for the present, <sup>n</sup> I shall tell you vvhhat Scripture urgeth <sup>n</sup> Mat. 27. my heart for the present to impart, if God lead not into another, <sup>65.66.</sup>  
 o before the opportunity be attained, for we cannot treasure up <sup>Dan. 6. 16. 17.</sup>  
 to bring forth at our pleasure unto profit, no more then vve can <sup>o</sup> John 16. 13.  
 fetch down at our pleasure for our supply, but onely as our God  
 performeth, both the one and the other, <sup>P</sup> for vve depend not <sup>P</sup> Iohn 14. 26.  
 upon Baal Oboth as Saul did, <sup>q</sup> but upon the Lord Iehovah as <sup>q</sup> 1 Sam 28. 7.  
 David did. <sup>r</sup> The Scripture intended is the sounding of the fifth <sup>r</sup> Psal. 36. 9.  
 trumpet, Revel. 9, out of vvhich I desire (as God shall assilt)  
 to open and declare these points followving.

<sup>1</sup> What the sound of the trumpet is, <sup>2</sup> who the angel is, <sup>3</sup> why the <sup>Point. 1,</sup>  
 fifth.

<sup>1</sup> What that starre is that falls from heaven to the earth, <sup>2</sup> <sup>P. 2.</sup>  
 What the fall of it is, <sup>3</sup> how it falls from heaven unto the  
 earth.

<sup>1</sup> What the key of the bottomesse pit is. <sup>2</sup> To whom it is given <sup>P. 3.</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> The manner how it is given. <sup>4</sup> How the pit is opened. <sup>5</sup> How  
 it can be said to be bottomesse, seeing nothing can be without  
 banks and bottome but the Lord himself.

<sup>1</sup> What the smoke of the bottomesse pit is. <sup>2</sup> The cause and <sup>P. 4.</sup>  
 manner of its rise, even as the smoke of a great furnace.

<sup>1</sup> What the Sunne and the aire are. <sup>2</sup> How they are darkened <sup>P. 5.</sup>  
 by the smoke of the pit.

<sup>1</sup> What those locusts are that come out of the smoke. <sup>2</sup> The nature <sup>P. 6.</sup>  
 of their power, as the scorpions of the earth have power, <sup>3</sup> how this  
 power is given unto them, seeing that all power is of God.

<sup>1</sup> What the injunctiions are, that are laid upon the locusts. <sup>P. 7.</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> The rise of those injunctiions: <sup>3</sup> The exercise of them: <sup>4</sup> The  
 extent of them.

<sup>1</sup> What the nature and property of the locusts are, declared by <sup>P. 8.</sup>  
 the severall formes ascribed unto them, furniture, ornaments,  
 and their carriage in them.

What their King is, as he is described, <sup>1</sup> by his office assigned, <sup>P. 9.</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> by his titles given unto him. <sup>3</sup> How he is a King, seeing the lo-  
 custs are said to have no King over them.

<sup>1</sup> What that woe is, that is said to be past, and how it can be <sup>P. 10.</sup>  
 L said

said to be past, seeing there is ever wo to the wicked. 2 What the two Woes are, which are to come, and how they can be said to come hereafter, seeing the Wrath of God abides upon him already, that believes not.

Thus you have my question, both with its introduction and Sequel, and I attend your answer, which I hope will not onely be speedy in respect of time, but speeches also in regard of matter, to the satisfying and fulfilling of my desires,

*Per me Samuel Gorton.*

Now during the time of our confinement, being dispersed abroad into severall towns in the countrey, the people came to be informed of the truth of proceedings, whereupon they were much unsatisfied with what they had done against us, which being perceived, they called a generall Court, and without any appearance, or questioning any of us, concluded upon our release sending us a writing of it, together with a further banishment, not onely out of all their own jurisdictions, but also that we should not come in, nor near Providence, nor our own plantations at Shawomet, with other parts thereto adjoining, out of all which places we were to depart within the space of fourteen dayes, and that upon pain of death, which were places out of all their jurisdictions, as Master John Indicote (at that time deputy Governor) confessed, standing up in publick Court, and professed that God had stirred them up to go out of their own Jurisdictions, to fetch us from our own places unto them.

*Here followeth a true Copie of our release and banishment, sent to us from the Generall Court, set down verbatim, and is extant under their hands,*

*At a Generall Court at Boston the 7<sup>th</sup> of the first moneth 1643. or 1644.*

**I**T is ordered that Samuel Gorton and the rest of that company, who now stand confined, shall be set at liberty, provided that if they or any of them, shall after fourteen dayes after such enlargement, come within any part of our Jurisdiction, either



either in the *Massachusetts*, or in, or near *Providence*, or any of the Lands of *Punhom*, or *Soccononocco* \* or elsewhere, within our Jurisdiction, then such person, or persons, shall be apprehended wheresoever they may be taken, and shall suffer death by course of Law; provided also that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteene dayes, they shall be still bound, to the rest of the Articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed.

*Per Cur.* Increase Nowel Secret.

These were their two Indian subjects lately enticed to renounce their own Prince, thereby to finde a way to subject us unto their own wills, or else to execute death upon us.

When this order of the Court was presented to *Samuel Gorton*, by the Constable of *Charles town*, bringing a Smith with him, to file off his bolts, he told the Constable *he was not willing to part with his irons on these termes*, but expected other news in fairer termes of release, then were therein expressed, desiring him to go to Master Nowel who lived in that town, and declare so much unto him. In short time, the Constable returned, bringing divers of the chief men in the town with him, and commanded the Smith to fall to work to file off his bolts, who did accordingly, and so took them from him, leaving the said *Gorton* either to walk abroad, on such conditions, or else to stay at his perill.

Now two or three dayes after our release, Some of us being returned to *Boston*, desiring to stay for the rest of our friends, that we might return together, accompanying each other in our journey, the people shewing themselves joyfull to see us at liberty, and entertaining us kindly into their houses, which the Governor perceiving presently sent out his warrant, with strict charge to depart from the town, within the space of two hours, (it being about ten of the clock in the forenoon when the warrant came unto us) otherwise further penalty should be laid upon us.

*This is a true copie of the Governors Warrant extant still under his hand, word for word.*

*To the Marshall or his deputie,*

**I** Am informed that *Samuel Gorton*, and his company are now abiding in the town, and go to divers houses, giving offence thereby, and cause of suspicion, of attempting to seduce some of our people; you are therefore to command them to depart out of the town, before noon this day, upon pain of being apprehended and further proceeded with, according to their deservings.

(i) 10.-- 43.

*John Winthrop Governour.*

As we passed along the way a matter of three, or four miles from Boston, we came to some Indian wigwammes, the Sachim being the prime Sachim, that lives neare them, and familiar among them, we came into his wigwam acciden-

tally, and he having taken notice of us amongst them how we had been dealt with, as soon as we came in, called some of us by our names, his name being *Cosbanakin*, we asked him whether Captain *Cook* were a good Captain, he answered I cannot tell, but Indians account of those as good Captains, when a few dare stand out against many.



to discover their dealings towards us in seeking redresse, if we could but see a way, that through our hard labours, our wives and little ones might find a way to subsist.

*Here followeth a true Copie of the Letter sent unto the Governour of the Massachusets, verbatim, as it is still extant under the hands of the witnesses, which were taken, lest they should put us off, and not make answer to our letter.*

*Shawomet, March the 26. 1644.*

**T**He order of your Court last held, made concerning us, being darke and obscure, which beseems not a matter of that concernment, which you have now entred upon, and made some short progresse therein; the issues whereof are pressing on unto perfection, whose arrivall is waited for, with that hope that never makes ashamed, we may not therefore forbear To require an explanation of What you intend, by the Lands of Pumhom and Soccononocco, for we know none they have, or ever had within your jurisdiction; if you should therefore, so farre forget your selfe, as to intend thereby our Land lawfully bought, and now in our possession, and inhabited by us, called Shaw-omet, together with other parts near adjoyning: Give us your minds, and meaning in plaine terms, under your hands: And whereas you conclude, for such our lawfull aboad, and residence, to prosecute against us by course of Law unto death; we resolve upon your answer, with all expedition, to wage Law with you, and try to the uttermost, What right or interest you can shew to lay claime, either to our Lands or our Lives; and shall take it as your own Act, urging us and constraining us thereunto, to looke after our right, in the havock and spoils, you have already made among us, which otherwise God hath taught us, to suffer joyfully the robbing and spoyling of our goods, if you did not necessitate us to look after recompence from you: We expect your answer by this Bearer, and in case you returne it not speedily, we conclude your order of Court to intend no such thing, as to drive us

from our lawfull possessions, as above-said, but that you used such termes, as scar-crows, imagining you had children to deale with, or as a starting hole to evade part of that danger that may insue: nor can you put us off for answer, till the Court sit againe, being a generall Act, and you but one; now to answer, for we know you may better open unto us the intent of the Court for our satisfaction, then you could expell us out of any part of your jurisdiction, before the time set by the Court, contrary to the liberty it had given unto us.

*By the order or government of Shaw-omet, John Warner, Secretary. Sufficient witnesse being taken of our plaine and man-like dealing with you herein.*

*A true Copie of a Letter sent to the Government, and Governour of the Massachusetts, the day and year above-said: In Witnesse of, or in presence of* Ralph Earle.  
John Anthony.

*Here Followeth a true Copie of the Governours answer to our Letter above-said, set downe here verbatim, and is extant under his own hand.*

*To Samuel Gorton, John Warner, and the rest of that company.*

**F**OR satisfaction of what you require, by your writing of *March, 26, 1644.* This is to let you know, that the expression and intent of the order of our last generall Court, concerning your comming within any part of our jurisdiction, doth comprehend all the Lands of *Pumbom*, and *Soccononocco*, and in the same are included the Lands which you pretended to have purchased, upon part whereof you had built some houses, (be the place called *Shaw-omet* or otherwise) so as you are not to come there upon perill of your lives. This I testifie to you.

*Boston 2.(i) 1644*

*John Winthrop.*

*You*



Yoa muſt know withall, that the Court did not intend their order ſhould be a ſcar-crow (as you write) for you will find it reall, and effectuall, if you ſhall tranſgreſſe it,

*Thus far the Governors Letter, Written with his own hand.*

Now upon our comming to *Road-Iland*, the Indians of that great Countrey of the *Nanbyganſet* hearing of our return without the loſſe of our lives, they wondred, having obſerved the cauſeleſſe cruelty they had offered unto us, ſome of them being within the hearing of the ſhot of the Guns, whiſt they lay intrenched againſt us, as alſo how we were uſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, and the conſtant report, whiſt we lay amongſt them, that ſome of our lives ſhould be taken away, or elſe kept as ſlaves ſo long as we lived; conſidering theſe and the like things they marvelled much, at our deliverance and releaſe, from amongſt them: Now our countrey men having given out formerly, amongſt the *Indians*, that we were not Engliſh men, to encourage them againſt us (becauſe the awe of the Engliſh, hath been much upon them) and being they could not father the name of any Sectary, or Sect upon us, but we could clearly demonſtrate, we were no ſuch opinionated perſons, they then called us *Gortoneans*, and told the *Indians* we were ſuch kind of men, not Engliſh: now the *Indians* calling the Engliſh in their language *Wattaconoges*, they now called us *Gortonoges*, and being they had heard a rumour of great war to be in *Old-England*, and that it was a land ſo furniſhed with multitudes of people, they preſently framed unto themſelves a cauſe of our deliverance, imagining that there were two kinds of people in *Old-England*, the one called by the name of Engliſh men, and the other *Gortonoges*; and concluded that the *Gortonoges* were a mightier people then the Engliſh, whom they call *Wattaconoges*; and therefore the *Maſſachuſets* thought it not ſafe to take away our lives, becauſe how ever there were but a few of us in *New-England*, in compariſon of thoſe that came out againſt us, yet that great people, that were in *Old-England* would come over, and put them to death, that  
(ſhould

should take away our lives from us, without a just cause.

Whereupon the *Sachims* of the *Nanbyganjet* consulting together, presently sent Messengers unto us, to come and speake with them, and being they were those of whom wee had bought our Land (which now the *Massachusetts* had taken away from us,) as all that inhabite upon that Bay have done) they being very importunate to have us to come over to speak with them, we not knowing what the occasion was, yeelded unto their request, a matter of halfe a dozine, or seven of us took boat to goe over the Bay to them, they seeing the vessell come, newes was brought to the *Sachim*, who sent aband of lusty well armed men, who met us, as soon as we were come to Land, to conduct us to old *Sachim Conaunicus* his house, multitudes of *Indians*, as we passed along, coming forth, and seemed joyfull, which we taking notice of, (neither the one nor the other being usuall amongst them) some of us began to be a little jealous, that the Agents of the *Massachusetts*, who lived near unto us, had gone about to betray us into their hands, upon some false suggestion concerning the death of their *Sachim Myantonomy*, who lost his life immediately before the *Massachusetts* came against us; and however he was suddenly slaine by an *Indian* coming behind him, as he marched upon the way, yet there were English present at the doing of the act, which we were a little jealous, the above-said Agents might have suggested, that we might be consenting thereunto, which all the *Indians* tooke for a most injurious act, not onely because he was so famous a Prince amongst them, but also how ever he was taken in a stratagem of warre by the *Indians*, yet a great ransom was paid for his Redemption, and his life taken away also, and they are very consciencious, to recompense the shedding of blood, (especially of such personages) with blood againe: But when wee were come to the old *Sachims* house, we were courteously entertained, and from thence conducted to the house of *Sachim Pessecons*, Brother, and successor in government to the late *Myantonomy*, when we were there, divers *Sachims*, and their chiefe Counsellors, took us aside to consult with us, and asked what we intended to doe,



or how we could live, seeing the *Massachusetts* had not onely taken our estates from us in goods and chattels, but also our houses, lands and labours, where we should raise more, for the preservation of our Families, and withall, told us that their condition, might (in great measure) be paraleld with ours, else they would willingly have done any thing for our helpe, in regard that our Land was bought of them, and we had faithfully paid them for it, according to our contract: But they told us, they had not only lost their *Sachim*, so beloved amongst them, and such an instrument of their publick good; but had also utterly impoverished themselves, by paying such a ran-some for his life, (as they then made us an account of) notwithstanding, his life taken away, and that detainee also; we made answer unto them, that for our parts, we were not discouraged, in any thing that had befallen us, for we were subjects to such a noble State in *Old-England*, that however we were farre off from our King and State, yet we doubted not but in due time, we should have redresse, and in the mean time we were resolved, to undergoe it with patience, and in what way we could, labor with our hands, for the preservation of our wives and children: the answer that they made unto us was this, That they thought we belonged to a better Master then the *Massachusetts* did: whereupon, desiring our stay, they called a generall Assembly, to make known their minds, and to see the minds of their people, and with joynt and unanimous consent, concluded to become subjects to the State and Government of *Old-England*, in case they might be accepted of; we told them, we could promise them nothing, nor take any engagements upon us, not knowing the minds of that Honourable State; but if they would voluntarily make tender of themselves, as they themselves thought meet, we would endeavour to convey it safely (in case we went over about our own occasions) and bring them word what was the pleasure of the State therein; whereupon they chose four of us, as Commissioners in trust for the safe custody, and conveyance of their Act and Deed unto the State of *Old-England*.

*The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free submission of the chiefe Sachim, and the rest of the Princes, with the whole people of the Nanhygansets, unto the government and protection of that Honourable State of Old-England, set down here verbatim, the Deed it selfe being extant.*

**K** NOW ALL MEN, Colonies, Peoples and Nations, unto whom the same hereof shall come; that we the chiefe *Sachims*, Princes or Governours of the *Nanhyganset* (in that part of *America*, now called *New-England*) together with the joynt and unanimous consent of all our people and subjects, inhabitants thereof, do upon serious consideration, mature and deliberate advise and Counsell, great and weighty grounds and reasons moving us thereunto, vvhwhereof one most effectuell unto us, is, That noble fame vve have heard of **THAT GREAT AND MIGHTY PRINCE, CHARLES, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN**, in that honorable and Princely care he hath of all his servants, and true and loyall subjects; the consideration vvhwhereof moveth & bendeth our hearts vvith one consent, freely, voluntarily, and most humbly, to submit, subject, and give over our selves, Peoples, Lands, Rights, Inheritances, and Possessions whatsoever, in our selves and our heires, successively for ever, unto the protection, care, and government of that **WORTHY AND ROYALL PRINCE, CHARLES, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**, his Heirs and Successors for ever, to be ruled and governed according to those ancient and honourable Lawes, and customs established in that so renouvned Realme and Kingdome of *Old-England*; vve doe therefore by these Presents confesse, and most vvillingly, and submissively acknowledge our selves to be the humble, loving, and obedient servants, and subjects of His Majesty to be ruled,



led, ordered, and disposed of, in our selves and ours, according to his Princely wisdom, counsel, and lawes of that honourable State of *Old-England*, UPON CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTIES ROYALL PROTECTION, and righting of us in what wrong is, or may be done unto us, according to his honourable Lawes and customs, exercised amongst his subjects, in their preservation and safety, and in the defeating, and overthrow of his, and their enemies; not that we find our selves necessitated hereunto, in respect of our relation, or occasion we have or may have with any of the natives in these parts, knowing our selves sufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter or cause in that respect, but have just cause of jealousy and suspicion, of some of His Majesties pretended subjects: Therefore our desire is to have our matters and causes heard, and tried according to his just and equal Laws in that way, and order His Highnesse shal please to appoint; NOR CAN WE YEELD OVER OUR SELVES UNTO ANY, THAT ARE SUBJECTS THEMSELVES IN ANY CASE, having our selves bin the chiefe *Sachims*, or Princes successively, of the countrey, time out of mind, and for our present, & lawfull enacting hereof, being so farre remote from His Majestie, we have by joynt content made choyse of four of his loyall and loving Subjects, our trusty and well beloved friends, *Samuel Gorton*, *John Wickes*, *Randall Houlden*, and *John Warner*, whom we have deputed, and made our lawfull Attornies, or Commissioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalfe of His Highnesse: but also for the safe custody, carefull conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace, being done upon the Lands of the *Nanbyganset*, at a Court or Generall Assembly called and assembled together of purpose, for the publick enacting, and manifestation hereof: And for the further confirmation, and establishing of this our Act and Deed, we the above-said *Sachims*, or Princes, have according to that commendable custome of English-men, subscribed our names, and set our Seales hereunto, as so many Testimonies of our faith and truth, our love and loyalty to that

our dread Sovereigne, and that according to the English mens account. Dated the nineteenth day of *Aprill*, One thousand six hundred forty foure.

*Pessicus* his Marke, Chiefe  
Sachim and Successor of  
that late deceased *My-*  
*antonomy*.



The Marke of that Ancient  
*Conaunicus*, Protector of  
that late deceased *Myanto-*  
*nomy*, during the time of  
his nonage.

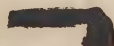


The Marke of *Mixan*, son  
and heir of that above-said  
*Conaunicus*.



Witnessed by two of the chiefe Counsellors to Sachim *Pessicus*.

*Anwasboosse* his Mark



*Indians*

*Tomanick* his Mark



Sealed and delivered in the presence of these persons

*English* { *Christopher Helme.*  
*Robert Potter.*  
*Richard Carder.*

*Here*



*Here followeth a Copie of a Letter sent to the Massachusetts, by the Sachims of the Ninyhansets (shortly after their subjection to the State and Government of Old-England) they being sent unto by the Massachusetts, to make their appearance at their Generall Court, then approaching.*

We understand your desire is, that we should come downe into the *Massachusetts*, at the time of your Court now approaching; our occasions at this time are very great, and the more, because of the losse (in that manner) of our late deceased brother, upon which occasion, if we should not stirre our selves, to give Testimony of our faithfullnesse unto the cause, of that our so unjust deprivation of such an instrument, as he was amongst us, for our common good, we should feare his blood would lie upon our selves; so that we desire of you, being wee take you for a wise people, to let us know your reasons why you seeme to advise us as you doe, not to goe out against our so inhumane, and cruell adversary, who tooke so great a rancome to release him, and his life also, when that was done. Our Brother was willing to stirre much abroad to converse with men; and wee see a sad event at the last thereupon: Take it not ill therefore, though we resolve to keepe at home (unlesse some great necessitie call us out) and so at this time doe not repaire unto you, according to your request: And the rather because we have subjected our selves, our Lands and Possessions, with all the right and inheritances of us and our people, either by conquest; voluntary subjection, or otherwise, unto that famous and honourable government, of that Royall King *Charles*, and that State of *Old-England*, to be ordered and governed according to the Laws and Customs thereof; not doubting of the continuance of that former love that hath been betwixt you and us, but rather to have it increased hereby, being subjects now, (and that with joynt and voluntary consent) unto the same King and State your selves are: So that if any small thing of difference should fall out betwixt

us, only the sending of a Messenger may bring it to right againe; but if any great matter should fall (*which we hope and desire will not, nor may not*) then neither your selves nor we are to be Judges, but both of us are to have recourse, and re-paire unto that honourable and just Government; and for the passage of us or our men, to and againe amongst you, about ours or their own occasions, to have comerte with you, we desire and hope they shall have no worse dealing or entertainment then formerly we have had amongst you, and do resolve accordingly to give no worse respect to you or yours, then formerly you have found amongst us, according to the condition and manner of our country.

Nanbyganset this present, May the 24. 1644.

PESSICVS



his Marke.

CONAVNICVS



his Marke.

Now before the assembling of the next generall Court, in regard the *Indians* had expressed themselves as above we heard, there were feares and jealousies raised up in the minds of the people, of the *Massachusets*, and other of their united Colonies, as though there was some danger of the *Nanbygansets* comming against them to doe some hurt unto them: So that when we heard their Court was assembled, we writ unto them, as follows.



*A true Copie of a Letter sent to the Massachusetts, at a generall Court held shortly after the submission of the people of the Nanhygansets, unto the State of Old-England, by the Commissioners put in trust, for the further publication of their solempne Act.*

**T**Hese are to let you understand, that since you expelled us out of your Coasts, the Sachims of the Nanhyganset have sent for certaine men of the Kings Majesties subjects, and upon advised Counsell amongst themselves (a generall Assembly being called of purpote for that end) they have joyntly voluntarily, and with unanimous consent, submitted and subjected themselves, with their Lands and Possessions inherited by lineall discent, voluntary subjection, right of Conquest, purchase or otherwise, what ever lands or priviledges appertain and belong unto them, unto that honourable and famous Prince *Charles*, King of Great Britain, and Ireland, in that renowned State and Government of *Old-England*, to be ruled and ordered, according to those honourable Laws and Customs, in themselves and their Successors for ever, which is performed and done, in that solempn, durable, and commendable custome of Record, under divers and severall hands and seals, witnessed sufficiently, both by the Natives and English, solemnly delivered and received on His Majesties behalfe, holding correspondence with the Laws and Customs of that honourable State of *Old-England* in all points: We thought good therefore to give notice hereof, at your generall Court now assembled, that it may serve to informe your selves, and all your united Colonies, of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains or trouble, that so not our selves only, that are eye and ear witnesses hereof (but you also) may follow our occasions and imployments, without any extraordinary care, or feare of the people above-said, to offer to make any in-road, or give any assault upon us: But with that indignity offered and done unto  
their

their Sovereign, which cannot be borne, nor put up, without a sharpe and Princely revenge; nor may we upon the like penalty, offer to disturbe them in their bounds and territories, in their ordinary and accustomed employments among themselves, or with any of their neighbouring Natives, whose grounds of proceed causes and occasions are better known unto themselves, then we can be able to judge of. But if either you or we find any thing amongst them too grievous to be borne; they not making any violent assault upon us, we know whither, and to whom we are to repaire, and have recourse for redresse, as we tender our allegiance and subjection unto our King and State, unto which they are become fellow subjects with our selves; and therefore of necessity his Majesties Princely care must reach unto them. Furthermore, that it may appeare, that our dealings towards you, and all men, have been, and shall prove just, and true, whatever your dealings may, or have manifested themselves to be towards us: Know therefore, that being abroad of late about our occasions, we fell to be where one of the *Sachims* of that great people of the *Maukquogges* was, with some of his men, whom we perceive are the most fierce and warlike people in the countrey, or continent where we are, furnished with 3700. guns, men expert in the use of them, plenty of powder and shot, with furniture for their bodies in time of warre, for their safety, which other Natives have not; we understand that of late they have slain a hundred French, with many Indians, which were in league with the French, putting many of them to cruell tortures, and have but lost two of their own men; these being as we understand deeply affected with the *Nanhygansets*, in the losse of their late *Sachim*, unjust detaining also of so great a ransome, given and received for his life, and else, are resolved (that if any people offer to assault them in their accustomed courses amongst the Natives, or seeking after their ancient rights and priviledges, not offering wrong to any of His Majesties subjects, nor violating their subjection to that Noble State, which they seem to respect, and much to adore) to wage warre with them unto the uttermost, which it seems is the very spirit of  
that



that people to be exercised that way, which as we desire to make use of it our selves, so doe we hereby give notice to you also, to make the best use of it unto your selves in all your Colonies united.

June the 20<sup>th</sup>, 1644.

By us the true and lawfull  
owners of Shaw-omet.

John Warner Secret.

These things being done, we residing upon *Aquethneck*, alias, *Road-Iland*, hiring houses and grounds to plan: upon, for the preservation of our Families: The Governour of the *Massachusetts* perceiving that we still aboad among the English, and were not gone to the Dutch as others formerly did, he then writ a Letter privately to some in the Iland, whom he thought they had interest in, being he continued a Member of their Church, however removed from them, telling him, that if he and others (who were in like relation unto them) could worke the people of the Iland to deliver us up into their hands again (at least some of us) it would not only be acceptable unto the Court then sitting, but unto most of the people in generall; the people of the Iland having notice of this Letter, did altogether dislike and detest any such course to be held with us, knowing very well what they had already done, and how causelessly; So that we abode still upon the Iland, and followed our employments, untill such time as there appeared amongst us a Charter of civill government, granted by the State of *Old England*, for the orderly, quiet, and peaceable government of the people inhabiting in those parts of the countrey, called *Providence Plantations*, in the *Nanbyganset Bay*, which Charter being joyfully imbraced, and with all expedition, an orderly and joynt course was held for the investing of the people into the power and liberties thereof unanimously, for the exercise of the authority, in the execution of Lawes, for the good and quiet of the people, which thing gave great encouragement unto the Planters, to goe on in their employments, hoping to enjoy their lawfull rights and priviledges without disturbance, which the *Massachusetts*, together with

N

Plymouth

*Plymouth* understanding, they go about by all means to discourage the people, by their endeavouring to weaken, and invalid the authority of the Charter, in the eyes of the country, intrenching upon those places, to frustrate and make void the Charter, as by maintaining their *Coadjutors*, as aforesaid in opposing of us, giving them order to set up writs upon our houses, where formerly we lived, prohibiting all men for entermedling with those Houses, Lands, Peoples, either *English* or *Indians* (which they call their own people) without their consent and approbation in those parts, which all plainly fall within the confines of the fore-named Charter, and far out of all their jurisdictions.

*Here followeth a true Copie of a Warrant set upon our houses at Shaw-omet verbatim, being extant, which was done after the Charter appeared amongst us.*

**W**Hereas we understand that some of our country men about *Providence*, or those parts, doe intend to sit down upon our Lands at *Shaw-omet*, or those parts: This is therefore to give notice to any such, that they forbear, without license from us, to attempt the same, or to meddle with any of our people there, either *English* or *Indians*; for let them be assured, that we resolve to maintain our just rights.

*Given at the Court at Boston, the 16th. of the 8th. Mo, Ann. 1644.*

By me Increase Nowell, Secret.

After this they ceased not to send out their Warrants amongst us, after the Charter was established amongst us, sending divers, and serving them upon the men of *Providence*, expressly commanding their appearance at their Courts in the *Massachusetts*.



*A Copie of one of their Warrants to the men of Providence here followeth Word for Word, and is extant under their hand.*

*To the Executors of Francis Weston.*

**Y**OU are required to take notice of an Attachment against the Lands of *Francis Weston*, so as to bind you to be responsible, at the next Court at *Boston*, to answer the complaint of *William Arnald*, \* for withholding a debt of thirty shillings due to him, and hereof not to faile at your perill.

One of their  
now coyned  
subjects  
amongst us.

*Dated the 5. (4) 1645.*

*Per cur. William Aspinwall.*

And as they thus goe beyond their bounds, not only to intrench upon the liberties and labours of their countrey men, (but also upon that authority transferred upon that people by the State of Old-England, for the quiet and peaceable ordering and government of themselves) not only in *Providence* and *Shawomet*, but likewise upon *Road-Iland*, both in *Portsmouth*, and *Newport*, specified in the Charter; the Colonie of *Plimouth* joyned in league with the *Massachusetts*, to such ends and purposes, sent their Messengers to *Road-Iland*, as namely, one Master *John Brown*, an Assistant in government amongst them there, who went from house to house (both in *Portsmouth* and *Newport*) discouraging the people for yeelding any obedience unto the authority of the Charter, giving them warning (as from the Court of *Plimouth*) not to submit unto any government that was established by vertue of a late pretended Charter, (as he very presumptuously called it) nor unto any other authority, or government, but only such as was allowed and approved of by them, although formerly they have many times confessed and acknowledged both by Word and Writing, that it was out of their Jurisdictions, without which acknowledgement, the people would never have adventured to lay out their estates, and to have planted themselves and families in those parts, some of them having too great and costly experience of *Plimouths* dealings with their countrey men, to be

*(such as may be fitly paraleld with the dealings of the Massachusetts, and their practise springing from the same spirit, hath brought them into leaguer and band, when they were clearly manifested each to other, who before at the time of their first Neighbour-hood there, they were at a distance, and stood aloof, one from the other, as each thinking I am holier then thou, the men of Plimouth, comming thither from Amsterdam, and the other out of hot persecutions of the Bishops in Old England.*

Now that these men doe not onely intrench caulelessly upon their countrey-men, but also upon the poore Indians, inhabiting in those parts, it is very plaine by their proceedings against that people of the *Nanbyganset*, whose countrey falls within the confines of the Charter, which people only going about to right themselves upon such Indians as they conceive have mightily wronged them in taking away the life of their Prince, after so great a rancome given, and received for his rescue; this they make their occasion to go out against them to cut them off, and so to take their countrey into their own jurisdiction; whereas the Indians, of our knowledge hold themselves bound, to revenge the blood of their Prince, it being so unlawfully (in their eyes) taken away; nay, they are not quiet in themselves, unlesse they doe revenge it, or else spill their own, in their endeavours thereafter; in the mean time they are in a continued act of mourning, as we know, for the space of one whole year, and an halfe, they mourned continually, not only by blacking their faces, in token thereof; but every day their mourning women, morning and evening upon their knees, with lamentations, and many tears along time together, as our selves have been eye-witnesses, when we have had occasions amongst them, and in houses that were more publick, where the wife and children of the diseased Prince were, there did a man continue a speech (during the time of the Womens praying, sighing and lamenting with abundance of tears) declaring what their losse was in being deprived of such a Sachim, and how wrongfully it was done by the enemy, as also how they were all of them ingaged to revenge his blood, else would it so lie upon their own heads, as to bring more  
miseries



*miseries, and evils upon them*: Now for this their proceeding against their adversary the *Indian*, that thus deprived them of their *Sachim*, and so wrongfully (as they conceive) the *Massachusetts*, and *Plymouth* have offered to goe out against the people of the *Nanhyganset*, to cut them off by the sword, sending word to *Providence Plantations*, that if they should stand as *Neuters*, and not goe out with them in this worke, they would make plunder of them: So Captain *Standish* sent word in the name of *Plymouth* (now since we came out of those parts) unto the men of *Providence*, as wee are credibly informed by Letters from divers hands, as also by word of mouth from persons of good note, who were in the country there present amongst them, when these things were done, informing us of many passages, of the proceedings of the *Massachusetts*, and *Plymouth*, both towards the people of *Providence Plantations*, as also the *Indians* of that country of the *Nanhygansets*; only one Letter that concernes the *Indians*, wee desire to set down, to give further intelligence to the Reader of these mens dealings, who seemed so meek, and so mild in their native country, *Old England*, in the time of their abroad there, as though they could not heave a hand, or wag a tongue against any thing but a *Bishops Ceremony*, that being onely offensive unto them.

*Here followeth a true copie of a letter sent unto us since our coming from those parts of America called New England.*

WE are all in health at this present and chearfull, (the greatest want is your company) though men generally more invelitive then ever, the Bay had provided an Army to go against the *Nanhygansets*, had they not been prevented in the very interim thus, Captain *Harding* informed the Court of the difficulty of the enterprise, upon which the Court employed him, & Mr. *Wylbour*, to go to *Nanhyganset* and take *Benedick* \* to interpret; when they came to *Benedick* he refused to go without a hundred men in arms, onely to possesse th m with danger, to effect his bloody plot, upon which Mr. *Williams* being sent for to *Nanhyganset*, and also my self, to inquire of us, what

\* One of their  
aforesaid sub-  
jects or agents  
dwelling in  
*Providence*.

a Chief Sachim of the  
Nanbyganset  
b That is, the  
the Indian  
who slew their  
Sachim My-  
antonomy,  
when he had  
received a  
ransom for his  
life.  
c The Court  
called to  
consult how to  
cut them off,  
and Souldiers  
they had rai-  
sed up for that  
purpose.  
d Thus to get  
interest in  
their land, ei-  
ther to people  
it with whom  
they please, or  
else to get oc-  
casion to go  
out against  
them again,

the minds of these mad people were to kill men for nothing; upon which I went to Providence <sup>a</sup>, thinking to go with Master Williams, but, when I came there, he was gon, with the Captain & Master Wylbour, upon Benedicks refusal; I stayed their return, and their agreement was to have Pesseus <sup>a</sup> go into the Bay, and Master Williams was necessitated to put himself Hostage till his return; this news coming into the Bay did so vex the Ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that it being so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one cast out of the Church, It was all one as to ask counsell of a witch, and that those that did it, were worthy to die; upon which Master Wylbour was ready to die, for feare he should be hanged; so then the Indians went down, and they compelled them to cease warres with Unkas <sup>b</sup> and to pay them five hundred pounds for charges of Court, and provision for Souldiers <sup>c</sup>, and to leave foure of the chief Sachims children, till the money be paid, and to leave foure of his chief men till the children came, and to promise them not to sell any land without their consent: <sup>d</sup> this being done they came home again, and sent a man to tell me what was done, telling me that if the Lords in England help them not, they are like to suffer at present; but still they say they are not afraid of them, but onely give them their demands, rather then to war, before the Lords hear of it, that all may see they mean no hurt to English, but will submit to the Lawes of England, concluding it is but lent, it will come home with advantage both to their wisdom and profit. Pesseus hath been often with me to desire me to inform you of these things with great desire to see you again. Thus in haste I rest,

Your ever loving friend  
J. W.

This 20th of November 1645.

Thus have we given a true report, and made a faithfull relation, as briefly as we could, of what passages have fallen out betwixt the people of Providence plantations, and the rest of our countrey men inhabiting about them, which we have sensibly felt, and our families are now pressed under, laying unto heart



heart, and seriously taking it into consideration, hath not onely occasioned, but necessitated some of us to be here at this present with the consent of many others, according to our bounden duty, and allegiance, to present the truth hereof to this State.

LONDON the 14th of January 1645.

Here cometh a letter to hand, was written in the time of our confinement, & lying in bolts, & irons in the *Massachusetts*, occasioned by one of our wives, she hearing doctrine delivered (in that part of the countrey where she was driven with her children) questioning the truth of it, writ to her husband to desire his thoughts of it; it was gathered from *Mat. 24. 29.* & alluding also to *Heb. 12. 26. 27.* for the explication of it, the substance of the doctrine was that such a time of reformation, & restoration of the church of God, here on earth, was coming, the glory vvhhereof should darken the Sun and Moon, & cause the stars to fall from heaven, that is, saith he, make the Apostles doctrine & order of the Churches in those dayes to appeare as darknes in comparison of that light vvhich should now appeare, shewing also, that the ministry of the Apostles vvas that vvhich might & should be removed, that a more excellent glory might be brought in, and remain, concluding that the ministry of the Apostles, was but a ministry of witnesse, but one should hereafter appeare having the presence and reality of that which they but onely witnessed, and gave testimony unto.

*Here followeth a true copy of the answer given unto the things propounded as adove in way of satisfaction, how we are to think of such kind of doctrine, which the world is so taken up with, and seems to stand in such expectation and hopes of.*

Concerning that point you writ from *Mat. the 24. 29.* as also *Heb. the 12. 26. 27.* Namely, that the Apostles ministry, was a ministry of witnesse, we readily grant; but that

that it was no more then a ministry of Witnesse, we utterly deny, for it had not onely witnesse, but judgement also of condemnation and absolution in it, therefore the Apostlle saith, God shall judge you according to my Gospel; for the Apostles are not, but through the Spirit of the Sonne, who is that faithfull and true Witnesse, yea, and the judge of all, also; and higher then his ministration (who comes out of the bosome of the Father) we look nor nor ever desire to go, Therefore we onely confesse him, who is, and who was, and who is to come, and therefore reject such a Gospell as professeth such persons, times, and ministrations past, as never shall come again, and such persons, times and ministrations to come as yet never were, as a cunning device and sleight of Sathan to beguile the soules of men, either to stand in expectation of things to come, or else in admiration of things past, whiles in the mean time they are kept void of faith, which gives being unto the things, yea even at the present time; otherwise it is but to know persons and things after the flesh, but henceforth know we no man after the flesh, no though we have known Christ Iesus after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more.

And for the Sun being darkened, to be the ministry of the Apostles becoming dark in respect of a greater light appearing, we may in no case allow; for the Sunne there spoken of, is that Sunne of righteousness, a greater then which shall never appear, but when the crosse of Christ (spoken of in that Chapter) is evidently set forth, and declared to be that which indeed it is; then is that Sunne of Righteousnesse, that is light in it self, turned into darknesse, in all the men of the world, even as the Saints, which are darknesse in themselves, become light in the Lord; for as the wicked turn the truth of God into a lie, which is truth in it self, and ever will be, so they transform the light of the Lord into darknesse, which in it self is light and can never be darknesse: the Moon also, whose time is to appeare, and her place to have dominion in the night, shall not give her light, she shall fail in her office to shine, waxe, waine, and to set bounds to times and seasons, that is, the wicked shall see themselves deprived of all hope to attain to a change,  
time



time or season, which shall alter their wofull condition, or remove the Wrath of the Lord from them, yea in their looking back to the changes of their life before, wherein they have thought themselves so well exercised, the Moon in that respect shall be turned into blood (as *Joel* speaks in the same case) all times shall afford them nothing else but to see how they have been practising the shedding of that innocent blood, even from the blood of *Abel*, whom his brother slew in the field, where they were exercised in ordinary imployments, in the things of this life, unto the blood of *Zacharias* slaine (between) or in the middle of the temple and the altar, even in the very height of their worship and ordinances, so much stood for at this day. Nothing but such manner of light, or such a time or season (shall that light of heaven) the times and changes which they have passed through afford unto them, yea the starres shall fall from heaven, even cease to afford their various glories and lights, yea that day starre shall never give notice of that day springing from on high to visit them, or the rise of that Sunne of righteousness, with healing under his wings, nor shall their severall operations, and vertues yield any refreshment unto these terrene & sublunary things, that is, all those severall glories, and various vertues and operations that are in that bright morning star the Lord *Iesus*, and in those seven starres which he holds in his right hand, they shall all fall off, and lose their lustre, light, and influence, in and towards the earthly sonnes of *Adam*, as though they had never been; for as the rejoycing of the lamp of the righteous is a putting out and cessation of all sinne and sorrow, even so the putting out of the candle of the wicked, is a cessation, and utter demolishing of all the vertues and excellencies of *Christ* unto them, as though they were not at all, nay more then so, for as the sinne and miseries which men are by nature subject unto, are made througe the wisdom of God, a meanes whereby we see the height and depth, yea all the dimensions of the love of God do appear unto us, so are the excellencies that are in *Iesus Christ*, made (through the wisdom of that serpent) means of torture & torment to the wicked for ever, even as the excellencies of these visible heavens would be a greater torture to man to  
lose

lose them then if he had never seen or enjoyed them; and thence it is, that the powers of heaven are shaken or the dominions of heaven; for every thing in the heavens hath its Lordship, the Sunne hath dominion of the day, the Moone and the starres; the dominion of the night; the Sunne hath Lordship in shining, when the Moon hides her face; but not in setting bounds to times and seasons; for the Moon hath Lordship in that, but not in affording vertue and influence to herbs & plants, for the stars have power and dominion in that, yea every starre hath its particular power and vertue, yet can they not water the earth. The clouds have their dominion in that, yet cannot they serve man to breathe in; the aire hath dominion in that; so it is in the heavenly powers of our Lord Christ, whatsoever is in him hath its dominion, so as all the rest have not their glorie without it, so that whatsoever is declared in the Kingdome of heaven it is the first and the chief, and all the rest do serve to make up all its power or chieftie, so as all the Elders cast down their crownes before it; all the excellencies that are in Christ Jesus, as love, wisdom, righteousness, holines power & glory, all things in him have dominion and power, & all these heavenly powers whatsoever are shaken, that is removed out of their places, not to appeare in them any more, for the place wherein God declared his image at the first, in the beginning was man; but when the crosse of Christ is truly declared, then are all these heavenly powers shaken out of man, yea, removed out of that proper place given unto them in the beginning; therefore it is said, immediately after these tribulations, or immediately with these tribulations, (as the word wil also beare) that is, the preaching of the crosse and these things are inseparable; no marvell therefore, that when ever the crosse is preached, the champions of that man of sinne come out against it, striving to retain their god; for as it would be to nature in things of this life to see all chief powers and heavenly bodies so shaken, as to remove them out of their place for ever; the very thoughts whereof are dismal to the mind of man; so, & infinitely more is it to the soul of a man to have the excellencies & noble powers and dominions of God removed out of his heart where he placed them in the act of his first creation, are so  
that



that the excellencies of Christ, are ever shaking and ever removing out of their place in the wicked, that the height of their torment may ever appear and remain: for these things are shaken and removed in them, through the wisdom of the Serpent, that those things that cannot be shaken, namely, the wrath and vengeance of God may remain; even so it is in the godly, their sins and miseries are ever shaking and removing out of their proper place, that those things that cannot be shaken, namely, the grace and righteousness of Christ may remain for ever; therefore the voice of the Gospel shakes both heaven and earth, in that place alluded unto in your letter *Hebr. 12. 26. 27.* alluding both to Mount Sinai, and Mount Sion, so that the word yet once more declares a double removall, yea, and that of things that are made; for man was made in the image of God, yet the wisdom of the Serpent removed this image, that mans righteousness which is nothing but abomination in the sight of God, might ever remain, So also Christ was made sin, but the wisdom of God removed this sin in the very act of his being made so that the righteousness of God might remain and abide for ever; and then, and then onely shall or doth appear the signe, or the miracle or wonder of the sonne of man in heaven, in those clouds of, witnesse, or in that cloud of witnesses with power and great glory, so as all earthly kindreds shall mourn and wail before him, Even so Amen. Now the signe or wonder of the Son of man is this, that God made him a world of life at the first, for he breathed into his face, the breath of lives, (as the word is) for the life of all the world was in him; and yet this world of life is become nothing else but a world of death in the wicked, and no life of God found in them at all; so is that son of man in the second Adam made a world of sinne and death, and yet this world of sinne and death is become a world of righteousness and life unto the godly, and no sin nor unrighteousnesse of man found in them, for never was guile found in his mouth, Even so. Amen, and this is the signe or miracle of the Son of man, which the world knowes not of, and therefore hath so many empty conjectures what it may be thought to be, gazing up into Heaven

after it : when as it is come down unto us, and they know it not. *Rom 10. 7. 8.*

Thus have I given you my thoughts as brief as I could concerning what you propounded unto me, and blesse the Lord that you ministred occasion to look into the text. However we are set apart as a forlorn people in the eyes of, & by the world, yet doubt I not, but our God hath singled us out for other ends and uses, who hath put us into the Isle of Patmos, or among the nation of the dead, or deadly, (as the word signifies) to reveal unto us the great mysteries of his Kingdome, that we may declare unto those that now be here, how to have their hope in God, & that it may be told unto our childrens children that noble work that he hath wrought for us in our Lord Christ, who is over all, God blessed for ever Amen.

Your loving husband  
in bonds, and yet free,

Samuel Gorton.



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## *A Post-script.*

**D**ivers Letters were written to friends in answer to questions, and resolution of Scriptures, which now are not at hand ; otherwise we are very free to publish them to be seen of all, that the wise hearted might iudge of what our spirits and practises relished, and how they were employed in the time of our durance amongst these men, that were so eagerly minded to make us blasphemers, that so they might take away our lives, as a part of the glory, and beautification of their Religion.

Only we desire the Readers pains to take a view of one other Letter, in answer to a friend, who seemed to be troubled about that Scripture, in *Iohn 6. 53. verse*, what the meaning of it might be, desiring resolution therein, since we arived in England.

The words are these.

*Then Iesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye have no life in you.*

**I**N these words consider, first the occasion of them. Secondly, the summe of them, and thirdly the parts.

First for the summe, it is a divine sentence exclusive, of all men, from the life and spirit of God, save only such as doe *eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

Secondly, the parts of them for order sake are foure. First the occasion of this sentence, in these words, *then Iesus said unto them*; secondly, the confirmation of this sentence, laid down in these words, *verily, verily*; thirdly, the manner of the sentence, contained in these words, *I say unto you*, fourthly

ly, the sentence it selfe, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted *as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

For the first, which is the occasion of this divine sentence; that is, the reasonings within themselves, which the Jewes had in the operations of their naturall hearts, upon the delivering of this manner of doctrine unto them, *even by the sonne of God himselfe*, implied in this word (*Then*) looking back upon the verse immediatly going before, from which Christ takes occasion to utter this sentence; whence we observe, *That the word of God takes occasion, to utter and make it selfe manifest, even from the naturall reasonings, and argumentations framed in mens minds;* though they are not the cause, yet they are the occasion of the manifestation of it, *even as the truth, righteousness, power, and authority that is in God, breedeth occasionally, feare, terrour, jealousy, and wrath, in mens hearts and minds,* though these excellencies that are in God, are no proper cause hereof, but onely an occasion, without which they would not be; For if there were no Judge, the Malefactor would not have terrour; even so, the very naturall reasonings of mens hearts, are the occasions of the manifestation of the word of God in us, but no proper cause of it, for the cause is only in God himselfe; but without such reasonings, and Characteristicall impressions in mans mind, the word of God could never have been implanted, written, or translated in us, whereby we come to have the argumentations, and conclusions of sonnes of God, and not simply, or meerly of creatures in our minds, being once inlightened by him who is God, and the Father of lights, where ever it appeareth: So that the soule of man is of farre greater sublimity, and naturall excellencie in its creation, then any other creature under heaven ever had vouchsafed unto it; So that there is an utter impossibility that any creature should receive the impressions of God, but man alone.

This is a large field to walk in, for according to the variety of the reasonings of the mind of man by nature, which is set forth in all those wayes, wherein men have walked, and manifested



nifested themselves in this present world, *such is that wonderfull Epistle of Iesus Christ, in the various Writing and expression of it in the souls, hearts, and lives of the Saints that are in light through Iesus Christ; instance in one for all, the spirit of a naturall father reasons thus, if my child ask bread (to supply nature in the suppressing of hunger) I cannot put a stone into his mouth, (that were cruelty) but bread; if so be that I have it or can procure it; if the child ask fish, the father cannot put a serpent into his bosome to bite and sting him, but somewhat to cure and refresh him, if he have it. Now do but change this argument into the way of Christ, and let God be the father, and my self the child, and then is God, not man, the father; the bread heavenly and not from the earth; the writing, reasoning or argument, divine and eternall, not humane and temporary; and so the reasonings and dictates of our spirits are translated into the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God, and the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God are translated into a mind and spirit that speaks the very same things naturally in it self, though onely in a way of death, through its naturall ignorance, that now it speaketh in that way of life, through that light and knowledge that is in the Lord; and thus, Christ by sinne condemnes sin in the flesh: for by those reasonings wherewith we justifie our selves naturally, through that ignorance that naturally is in us, by the very same arguments and reasonings we condemn our selves, and justifie the Lord, through that light and knowledge we have in him by Iesus Christ.*

2. The second thing to be observed, is the certainty of this sentence laid down in the form of an oath, *verily, verily*, that is, *so it is or so it shall be*, as if he should say *Amen, Amen*, so it is, and so it shall be *without alteration or change*, and in that the word is doubled, it is for the certainty of the thing, *as Ioseph said of Pharaohs dreame*, and of no lesse certainty is all true exposition and interpretation of holy Scripture, whatever men may dream as *Pharaoh did and knew not the meaning of it*, and speak at uncertainties, not being resolved whether things may come to passe now or then, or fall out

to be thus, or so in the things of God; for the same spirit of truth and certainty, that gives the Prophecie, Proverbe, Parable, and advise, that records the History, or gives sentence divine, must also interpret, expound, and declare the meaning thereof; else is the Booke shut and sealed up unto us; great folly therefore to conclude of certaintie of Scripture, and of no infallibility in the interpretation thereof; For no more then we know the truth of an interpretation, no more doe we know the truth and certainty of any History, Prophecie, Proverbe, or Parable, which is propounded unto us, but take things upon report, as we doe other Chronologies of this world, *having only the traditions of men for the ground of our worship of God.*

The third thing, is the manner of pronounciation of the sentence, *I say unto you*, or as the word is, *I say (in) you*; the word used here, translated (*I say*) signifies such a saying as a Judge speaks upon the Bench, when he gives sentence in a cause, upon due prooffe and evidence, which stands fast in Law, being irrevocable; such is the saying and speech of Christ, the truth whereof can never be altered; and whereas he saith, *I say unto you*, or as the word is, *I say (in) you*, it signifies that what ever the Saints utter in point of Religion, it is, and must be, the voice of the Sonne of God, and not of themselves; so that as he suffereth in them, else can hee have no death at all, and then no Saviour; even so he speaks in them, or else hath no voice, nor language at all; and therefore without them, no Revealer of the will of his Father; for where Christ is silent, there can be no Revelation, therefore is he the word, or expression of the Father; and what he saith of him, he saith it in them: therefore he saith, *I say in you*, as in that very Epistle, or writing, *wherein I expresse my selfe in the Father unto the world, for my Father and I are one.*

The fourth thing to be observed, is the sentence it selfe, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood; wherein observe five things briefly, first why he is called the Sonne of



man, secondly, what is meant by *his flesh and blood* in this place; thirdly, what we are to understand by *eating and drinking*; fourthly, what is meant by *life* in this place; and fifthly how we are to understand, that exception or limitation, seeing *That of our selves We are not able to thinke a good thought*, how can we then performe such a weighty worthy, and unknown action, that is no lesse *then life it selfe*, in the doing of it.

For the first, viz. *Why he is called the Sonne of man?*

*Ans.* Not only, nor properly, because he had a soule and a body as all men have, which indeed was good in the creation, and so man is called the sonne of God: But he is called the son of man, because he is so produced and brought forth, as none can be, but such as proceed of man alone: Nor can he be a Saviour, but in way of such production and son-ship, for Christ in respect of his death (*Without which no Saviour*) is brought forth and produced no other way, but only in, and by man; for there is no death to be heard of in God, nor can he bring forth or produce of himselfe, any thing that is deadly, for he is that *Fountaine of life*; yea, *life it selfe, in the abstract*; nor can it be proper, or competible to the Sonne of God, to be brought forth in his death, in any, No, nor in all other creatures in the world, but only in man; for as no other creature in the creation was made in the Image of God, but man alone, so no other creature in regard of degeneration, can beare the Image of death and hell but man alone: Therefore it is that Christ is said, *to descend into the lower-most parts of the earth for our redemption, or in our redemption, which is wrought in us, or in our nature only*; Therefore he saith, *thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption*; therefore of necessity must he be brought forth, in respect of his death by man alone.

The second thing to be observed, is, What is meant by *flesh and blood*?

*Ans.* By flesh in Scripture, sometimes is meant, that which our Lord, or any of his were never nourished, nor in the least refreshed by; and that is the Arme of flesh, which is

a curse to all them that strengthen themselves by it in the things of God; for in that sense, *shall flesh and blood never inherit the Kingdome of God*; nay adde further, in that sence it is true, *That if you live after the flesh, it is death*, which is to live according to the wisdom, skill, strength, study, and fore-cast, about the things of God, that a creature (meerly as he is a creature) is able to produce and bring forth, which is to live according to the wealth, power, and honour of the creature, whose goodlinesse is as the flower of grasse that withereth, consumeth, and is brought to nought; for the best thing that is in it (which is his wisdom) *is enmitie with God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be*. But secondly, we are to understand by flesh, that weaknesse, frailty, and imbecillity of man, when he is deprived, and laid waite in himselfe, of all created glory, which is only then, *when the spirit of the Lord blowes, or breathes upon him*; and so becoms nothing in himselfe but weaknesse and infirmity: And in this sence the Prophet saith; *Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, their Horses flesh, and not spirit*: So saith the Psalmist in the same sence, *my flesh also resteth in hope, that is my weaknesse, and tired out condition, hath rest, and strength in another, though not in my selfe; for hope that is seen is no hope, so that my nature affords no such thing, but only that nature to which I am united*: And in an other place, *Thou art a God that heareth prayers, and unto thee shall all flesh come*, that is, thou art strength, and able to supply abundantly in all things, for thou art God, and we bring nothing but weaknesse and infirmity unto thee, *for unto thee nothing but flesh comes*; and so the Sonne of God is truly said, *to be made flesh*, that is weak and frailty, in regard of our nature which he tooke, or (as a continued act) takes upon himselfe.

Againe, by blood is here meant *the life, spirit, and power of the Sonne of God*, as he descends from the Father, even as the vigour, life and spirit of the creature runs in the blood, in the heat thereof: such is the life, spirit, power, vertue, and vigor of the sonne of man, as he is of the life, descent, and power of the Father from above, and so is God blessed for ever *Amen*; and in this sence is blood taken by our Apostle, where he saith, *This*



is he that came by water and blood, that is; by weaknesse and strength, not by water only, but by water and blood; that is, not by weaknesse only, but by weaknesse and strength, that is, weaknesse in us, or in our nature, but power in God, or in that nature divine; so is he said in the like sense, to be crucified in the flesh, but quickned in the spirit; and so is it also said. That what the Law could not doe, in that it was weake concerning the flesh, yet the Sonne of God taking upon him that similitude, and by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, that is, even as he became flesh in us, so doe we become spirit, and life in him, which is the fulfilling and perfection of the Law.

The third thing observed is, what it is to eat this flesh, and to drinke this blood?

*Ans.* Is that as it is in the body of a man naturally in that respect, even so also it is in that mysticall body of Christ spiritually; for if a man should eat, or communicate in (as the meaning is) only in food for the body, and not take in moysture, or drinke, for the digestion thereof, it is the destruction of the body, because moysture, as well as heat, must be maintained, those being the two Radicall humours; else doth the Lampe goe out, and is extinct; yea, meate without moysture doth suffocate, and choke the spirits, to the surfetting of the body, and so becomes the overthrow of it, which otherwise would maintaine and uphold it. Againe, if wee should take in only drinke, without meate, upon which it operateth, and worketh, then doth the moysture presently overflow to the quenching of the heat, and so breedeth either some dropisie in the body, to the sinking and overthrow of it in that way, or else it fumeth up into the head, and breeds madnesse, and giddinesse in the brain, unto all foolish, wanton, and lascivious wickednesse: Even so it is in that mysticall body of Christ: And hence it is said (by an elegant allusion) to eating and drinking naturally) that we eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood; that is, if we eat or communicate with that weaknesse and frailty which is naturally in man, and which the Sonne of God assumed and tooke into unity with him.

himselfe, without alike drinking in, or communication with, that spirit and life wherein he visits us, and comes into our nature from on high (even out of the bosome of the Father) then doe we surfeit, & suffocate the spirit, and die in our selves, and in our sinnes; and so also, if we neglect that weaknesse that is in us (as though no such thing were) and dream of a high and spirituall estate, which doth not arise out of, and is the result, (through the wisdom of God) of that weaknesse that is in us, then doe we either sinke in our folly, and become foolish in the things of God, being drunke up only with the things of this naturall life, else are we puffed up, and become giddy in our selves, thinking we know something, when as indeed we know nothing as we ought to know, but are meerly, and vainly puffed up in a carnall, aspiring, proud, vaine-glorious, and fleshy mind. So that to eat the flesh, and drinke the blood of the Son of man, is to communicate in the things that are of Jesus Christ, both as he is God, and as he is man, and to hold the unity of strength and weaknesse; that is, how he is made weak in taking our nature, and so carries and bears our infirmities away for ever (he being that scape-Goat, whose office it is so to doe:) And also, how our nature is, thereby made strong and mighty, through that strength of the Sonne of God, in whom we find no infirmity, but are furnished with his power everlastingly, so that death which is naturally in us (as we are the sonnes of men) is swallowed up of that victory and life, which is in him, as he is that victorious, and eternall Sonne of God, and without a futable correspondent, and hermonious feeding of these two, as in one individuall substance, we cannot have life in us, no more then our bodies can be sustained by meat without drinke, or by drinke only without meat: and that is the fourth particular, else we cannot have life in us, that is, we can have no life, spirit, or breathings of the Sonne of that living God in us: For as the body without the soule is dead, so also the soule without the life, and spirit of the Lord Jesus is dead, and as the body lives not without meat and drink, heate and moysture, so the soule lives not without communicating alike, in this strength and weaknesse, or in this life and death, which



which is in the Sonne of God, who dies concerning the flesh, but is quickned in the spirit, and the spirit of God proceeds ever from these two, when ever it uttereth it selfe, in that lively Oracle or speech, from off the covering Mercy-seat, it is ever from between these two Cherubims, and never speaks evidently, what perillous times are in the last dayes, but only as it proceeds from these twain, that is, from a dying unto the flesh, and a being quickned in, and living unto the spirit, by which life, spirit, or breath it ever preacheth, from the dayes of Noah, even untill now, both in our selves, and by our selves to others; for as it is a Maxim, that the spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, so is it here, for the flesh, or infirmity of Christ is the Father, & the spirit or power is the Son, as he is brought forth in that way of his death, without which he had never been a Saviour, and the Spirit or power is the Father, and the flesh is the Son, in as much as he brings forth life in this death, without which he had never been as he is man, in respect of that life, by which hee liveth the life of God; never to dye any more. to have we eating and drinking made one in that way of the faith of the Son of God, without which we cannot live the life of that Saint or holy one of Israel.

The fifth particular in this point is, how it can be said, that 5. we eat this flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood; in which consider two things, first who are meant in that he speaks plurally, except ye eat, &c. Secondly, how we can be said to eat and drink in such a high nature, seeing that we of our selves cannot thinke a good thought, much lesse performe such an act as this.

For the first, who are meant in that he speaks in the second person plurall, Ye.

Ans. It is not properly to be understood, as being meant of man and man, no not as of Saint and Saint, but of one Saint as he consists of a two-fold nature, according to that faith of the Sonne of God; so is it, Yee, that is, every one that is in Christ, and so through those precious promises, or gracious Covenant, is made partaker of that nature divine; yes, who ever is one of those children that have flesh and blood, of which the Sonne

of God also tooke part with them, namely, they that are partakers of those two natures by faith, that are in Jesus Christ, to every one of those this is spoken, as to such as are eaters, and drinkers in this case, for Christ as he is God, feeds upon nothing but our infirmities; that is, strengthens himselfe in point of our salvation, with nothing but our frailties and imperfections, and so of weak becoms strong, yea of an abject, the Lord of all, *For he in no case taketh hold on Angels*; that is, of any power or excellency in the creature to deliver us thereby, *but only on the seed of Abraham* (a Pilgrim and stranger in the Land) *he taketh hold*; that is, on our weaknesses, and imperfections, and out of them he brings his owne power and strength and other food the Sonne of God never tooke into unitie, nor digested, to gather strength unto himselfe by. Again, as he is man he *drinketh the blood*, that is, takes in, or receives that blood, life, spirit, and power of God, whereby he is enabled to doe all things, according to the purpose of his will, and other drinke he never drinke, as he is man; for our poor nature is of that vast emptinesse, that nothing but the fulnesse and power of an infinite and al-sufficient God, can possibly supply and perfect it, and so there is a compleat eating and drinking, which is that full satisfaction and nourishment, that can be found in none, *save only in the Sonne of God himselfe*, for it is a weaknesse of that nature and latitude, that nothing can supply and makeup but God himselfe; and it is a power of that fulnesse and perfection that can take nothing into unitie with it selfe that may be thought to adde any thing (no not in the least) unto that strength and vigour that is in God; for then it were not an Almighty power of God that saves us.

And so it is (*We*) that eat and drinke, that is, *We*, humane nature and divine; for *in eating*, the word eats up, and consumes our infirmities, and so there is a plurality in the act, not only of natures in that one act, but of eating also in sundry kinds and wayes; for as our infirmities are multiplyed, and that aptitude that is in us to fall, such is the multiplication of that restoration which is in that good word of God; it is (*We*) also in drinking, that is, our *vast emptinesse*, drinks and takes

in



in that fulnesse, power, and spirit that is in the word of God, in which we are expressed and made manifest to be the sonnes and daughters of God, and in that mutuall eating and drinking our life, strength, and comfort doth consist.

The fifth particular, how it is said (*that we doe eat*) that are not able to doe any thing; alike answer is to be given to this as to the former, when he saith, *Yee*, he means not only divers men, but he meaneth every one as considered, in him, who is not only of man, but also of God; so that if we speak of man separated from the Word of God (which hath sufficient power in it selfe) we misse of the meaning, and of the mind of God, and so of that communion or eating that is in the faith of Jesus Christ; and if we speak of God divided and separated from man, we commit the like errour, and are in the same default; but we must hold and maintain the unity of them both, in that way of faith in the Sonne of man, then is there power and ability, both to eat and to drink, even as there is power and ability in the Heavens and the earth, united in their operations, to bring forth fruit plentifully, which worke cannot be done, if either of them were set apart, and separated one from the other: So that the word of God is made strong through our weaknesse, that so it may appeare and make manifest it selfe: and our weaknesse appears, and is acknowledged through that word of God, that so all may be given unto God, and he may be all in all; so that it is (*Yee*) as man considered, in and with the power and spirit of God, in which he is enabled to doe all things, and not (*Yee*) as considered one man, in and with another, for so all flesh is grasse, surely in that respect the people is vanity.

S. G.

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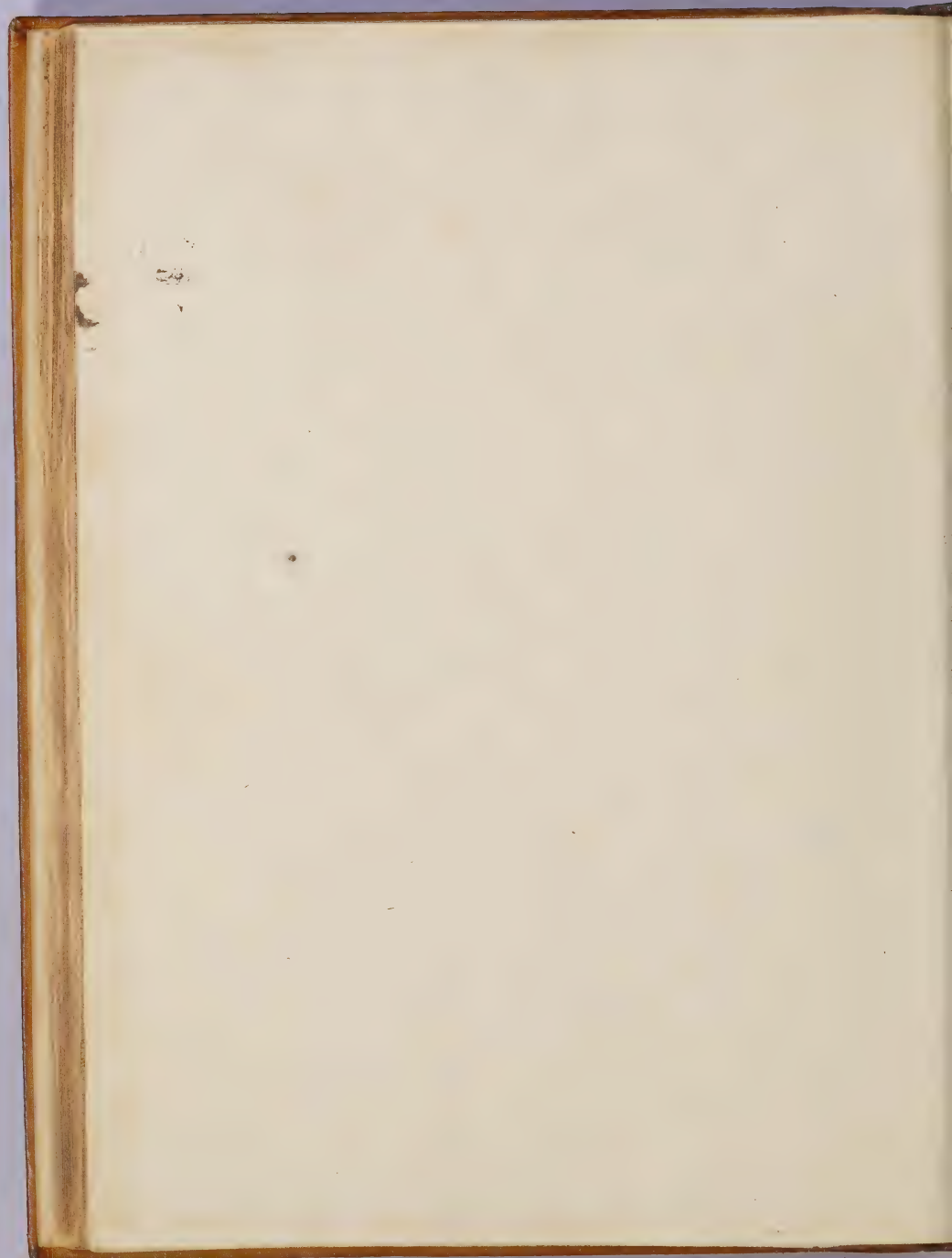
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